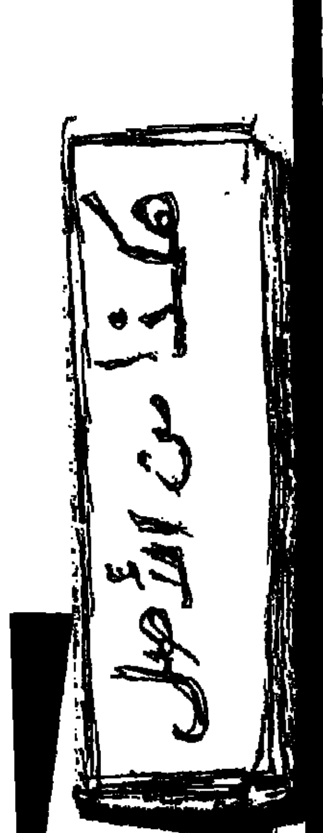


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Strenuous bids to defuse Middle East meltdown

There has been no lack of initiatives to defuse the situation in the Middle East. The day after German Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher returned to Bonn from consultations in the Middle East President Mubarak of Egypt flew to Bonn on a tour of leading Western capitals.

The Soviet Union had just proposed a conference of Foreign Ministers of the five permanent members of the UN Security Council to prepare for an international conference on the Middle East.

Last but not least, UN Secretary-General Perez de Cuellar has been prompted by an envoy he sent to the troubled Israeli-occupied territories to suggest a series of bilateral talks between parties to the conflict.

Palestinian unrest in territories occupied by Israel for the past 20 years ~~has made it~~ increasingly clear that Israel faces a crisis it may no longer be able to handle on its own.

Over the past 40 years Israel has constantly faced external foes and had to ensure its very survival by force of arms.

General-Anzeiger

This has inevitably made Israeli politicians think in terms of military categories that are of scant assistance in the present, critical situation.

Israel, as the occupying power, is using force to handle unrest in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip. Its international prestige stands to suffer substantially as a result, with the unrest and the way it is being handled undermining the moral foundations of the State of Israel.

There are growing fears that the compulsion to resort to tough crisis management might, in the final analysis, make its mark on the very foundations of democracy and constitutional government.

The restoration of peace and quiet in the occupied territories, always assuming it is still possible, will require a political, not a military, solution. And Israel must be lent international support.

The question is whether the Israelis, themselves split into several camps, really want to be helped. Or are they increasingly seeking refuge in laments about growing pressure from friendly foreign countries that "fail to understand" the situation?

Herr Genscher will be keen to demonstrate, now he has returned from yet another of his foreign tours, that Germany's chairmanship of the European Community can be put to good use in helping to solve problems in the Middle East.

Israel needs a friend who is on good terms with the Arab world and in a position to build bridges. Israel's Foreign Minister, Shimon Peres, is keen to enlist support for an international conference on the Middle East (even though his Prime Minister, Yitzak Shamir, is anything but enamoured of the idea).

The proposal for European Community aid to the occupied territories is surely worth closer consideration, while Egypt, as the sole Arab state to maintain diplomatic ties with Israel, could lend European and Arab efforts additional backing. It is up to the Soviet Union to re-establish regular diplomatic ties with Israel and thus eliminate a major obstacle to the peace process. Herr Genscher also sees Moscow's growing willingness to co-operate in handling the Persian

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Presidents Mubarak of Egypt and Weizsäcker of Germany inspect honour guard in Bonn. (Photo: AP)

Prague visit put to good use by Kohl



Nordwest Zeitung NWZ

Some irritation having arisen over whether a German-Soviet summit was to be held this year, Chancellor Kohl was able to demonstrate in Prague that German Ostpolitik is still well able to make use of the leeway at its disposal.

In visiting neighbouring Czechoslovakia he conferred with leaders who similarly seem to have been irritated by the Kremlin leader's political ideas of late, albeit in a somewhat different manner.

His journey to Prague was long overdue. A Bonn Chancellor had not visited the Czech capital for 15 years and Czech Premier Strougal, who has been his country's Prime Minister for 18 years, has yet to visit the Federal Republic of Germany.

President Husak of Czechoslovakia may have visited Bonn, but that was 10 years ago.

This circumspection in visits between neighbouring countries comes as something of a surprise. Relations between them may not be flourishing but they can be termed almost normal and neighbourly.

Prague is an extremely popular tourist target for German holidaymakers. The Federal Republic is Czechoslovakia's

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'Nothing new' in Mubarak's Palestine peace plan

KielerNachrichten

President Mubarak of Egypt toured Europe and the United States as the leader of a country readmitted to the Arab fold.

In Bonn, his first port of call, major crises — Palestinian unrest and the Gulf War — were the sole items on the agenda.

Egypt's pressing economic and financial problems, an evergreen issue, rated not a mention in the President's official statements and the controlled commentaries in the Egyptian Press.

Since Egypt was rehabilitated at the Arab summit in Amman last November President Mubarak, previously so restrained, seems to have gained substantially in self-assurance.

He has done so to such an extent that, in much the same manner as his visionary predecessor, President Sadat, he launched a "peace initiative" in Europe and Washington.

In Bonn he was promised that the Kohl administration, jointly with other European Community governments, *would step up their efforts to promote a* Middle East peace conference.

In Israel Premier Shamir, contrary to the stated intention of Foreign Minister Peres, emphatically rejected any such idea.

With the preamble that "the parties affected will dispense for a period of six months with all acts of violence and repression," the Mubarak Plan comprises four points:-

- first, an end to all new Israeli settlements in occupied territories;
- second, respect for the political rights and freedom of the Palestinian people under Israeli occupation;
- third, protection and security for the Palestinians, guaranteed by international bodies;
- and, fourth, "steps in the direction of an international peace conference aimed at a comprehensive peace settlement guaranteeing the right of all states in the region to live in peace and the right of the Palestinian people to self-determination."

Regardless of the fact that Washington only recently announced that it was not currently interested in a Middle East conference to deal with the Arab-Israeli conflict, Middle East observers have registered the Mubarak proposals as nothing new.

All have been outlined in greater detail in statements made by President Sadat after he had been forced to realise that the Israelis were not going to honour the Palestinian part of the Camp David agreements.

They were not going to do so, he realised, in either the letter or the spirit.

All that is new about the Mubarak Plan is its preamble, which was mentioned in an interview given by the Egyptian President to the *Washington Post* as a fifth point — and then possibly

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IN THIS ISSUE



■ FOREIGN AFFAIRS

Genscher and Strauss — at cross-purposes in Africa?

STUTTGARTER ZEITUNG

Never before has a Bonn government paid so much attention to Africa yet, paradoxically, Bonn's attitude toward Africa lacks nothing more than a clear policy line.

Within six months Chancellor Kohl, President von Weizsäcker, Foreign Minister Genscher and Premier Strauss of Bavaria have toured Africa, and all of them have visited crisis-torn southern Africa.

Yet while Kohl, Weizsäcker and Genscher have toured the front-line states Mozambique, Zimbabwe and Angola, Herr Strauss, who as so often in the past has no qualms about conferring with the more dubious actor's on the world's stage, has chosen to pay his respects to the apartheid regime in Pretoria.

Their destinations are programmatic. Herr Genscher and Herr Strauss, poles apart in the Bonn coalition, stand for different approaches to Africa policy.

Herr Genscher is strong on verbal condemnation of racism in South Africa but resolutely opposes tough sanctions as demanded by black African countries (and others).

This has led to accusations, in Africa and elsewhere, that he is all words and no action. He is also at loggerheads with those who either approve of conditions in South Africa or make profits there.

Herr Strauss in contrast argues along geopolitical lines, seeing Africa as potential for Soviet expansion. To stem the tide of what he claims is communist expansion he is prepared to permit the powers that be in Pretoria a certain amount of leeway.

In his view the system of racial segregation has shown itself to be capable of reform. This view is bound to sound like an insult to the victims of apartheid, maintained as it is by military force.

Chancellor Kohl lets both men have their way, which is what makes Bonn's Africa policy so unclear.

The Chancellor expressly affirmed that Herr Strauss was in Pretoria as Bonn's envoy with a view to mediating between South Africa and Mozambique, which is fighting an insurgent army that is clearly backed by South Africa.

Any such role for the Bavarian Premier is bound to appear as an affront to the Foreign Minister, so the Chancellor is again demonstrating his skill at playing off his coalition partners, Herr Genscher's FDP and Herr Strauss's CSU, against each other.

Herr Strauss, who when the CDU/CSU returned to power in Bonn in 1982 would have liked the Foreign Office, the one portfolio Chancellor Kohl was unable to offer him, is now able to don the mantle of an auxiliary Foreign Minister.

This will no doubt have appealed to Herr Strauss and proved to him that his influence on German politics is substantial even though he may not hold office in Bonn.

Yet it would be wishful thinking to imagine that his visit to South Africa had produced anything by way of results on headway toward the abolition of racial segregation.

Quite the reverse: any visit by a democratic politician from a Western country is bound, initially, to upgrade the Pretoria regime.

Why, one is bound to wonder, should Pretoria bear witness to genuine readiness for reform when Herr Strauss is prepared to break through the cordon of international isolation without requiring South Africa to make the slightest concession in return?

Small wonder the South African Council of Churches reacted no less allergically to his visit than the United Democratic Front, the largest Opposition group in South Africa.

For Mozambique, in contrast, Herr Strauss's visit to southern Africa might well have a beneficial effect.

President Chissano's left-wing government is challenged for power in the former Portuguese colony by a rebel movement that does no more than lay claim to political objectives.

In reality Renamo, the National Resistance Movement, amounts to little more than a gang of bandits who control large parts of the country and do so by the most arbitrary exercise of power.

In Maputo the Mozambican authorities say 100,000 people have died in the fighting, not to mention the material damage and general decline.

Pretoria strictly denies having anything to do with Renamo, but there can be little doubt the South African intelligence authorities supply the rebels with arms.

Even in the most conservative circles Renamo has forfeited any reputation it may have had of being a pro-Western liberation movement that was stemming the tide of communist expansion.

Conversely, Maputo is no longer suspected of being a Soviet satellite. Mozambique now has British and Spanish military advisers. In economic policy it has abandoned the more exaggerated socialist experiments of the past.

Herr Strauss, like Chancellor Kohl two months previously, promised Mozambique economic aid.

If he were only to make use of his much-vaunted excellent connections with South Africa to end South African aid to Renamo his visit might yet come to be classified as a success.

Wolfgang Kunath

(Stuttgarter Zeitung, 23 January 1988)

Prague visit

Continued from page 1

main trading partner in the West. Sporting ties run smoothly and promising talks have been held for some time on transnational environmental protection.

The Czech leaders would like to take part in a new and wider-ranging East-West dialogue despite all fears of fresh problems to which it might give rise. So Chancellor Kohl's visit was well suited to paving the way for better cooperation.

Horst Opta

(Nordwest Zeitung, Oldenburg, 26 January 1988)

Another Beirut abduction bid to blackmail Bonn

NÜRNBERGER Nachrichten

Hours after the appearance of Lebanese hijacker Mohammed Hamadi in a Düsseldorf court case against his brother Abbas a German citizen of Lebanese extraction, Ralph Schray, was abducted in Beirut. A leading Shi'ite Moslem is reported to have said another of the Hamadi brothers, Abdel Hadi, took Schray hostage. He is said to have ordered the abduction to step up pressure on Bonn to release his brothers Abbas and Mohammed.

Abbas Hamadi's defence counsel said when the Düsseldorf court case began that the proceedings would clearly show his client to have had nothing to do, either directly or indirectly, with the abduction of German businessmen Rudolf Cordes and Alfred Schmidt in Beirut.

This claim looks increasingly shaky as the case progresses, and not only in view of the shocked admission by Judge Klaus Arend that Lebanese threats have given rise to an unprecedented situation in German justice.

Knowing that the sentence, expected in April, will decide over the life or death of German citizens held hostage by Lebanese terrorists in Beirut is bound to do more than affect the atmosphere in the courtroom.

The connection is all too clear. Hours before the hearings began, Herr Cordes' kidnappers warned that their hostage was not the only trump they held.

They claimed to have "means that will cut Bonn to the quick."

No-one has yet claimed responsibility for kidnapping Ralph Schray, but it is impossible to believe it is sheer coincidence he was abducted on the day Mohammed Hamadi appeared in court.

The pressure the kidnappers have brought to bear on the court and on the Bonn government, to which Minister of State Schäuble of the Chancellor's Office recently admitted, has been further intensified.

That would account for Judge Arend's comment that as a result of the latest kidnapping the situation would probably be exacerbated and the opposite of what might have been possible in the trial would happen.

He may have hoped on the quiet that the release of Hoechst executive Rudolf Cordes might ease the situation. Instead the opposite has happened and there seems to be no way out of the vicious circle.

The whole truth will probably not come to light until Mohammed Hamadi's role is fully clarified.

His family in Lebanon seems convinced Bonn will knuckle under to sufficient blackmail pressure.

The latest developments show once and for all that Beirut extremists refuse to appreciate that in Western Europe there is a clear distinction between politics and the machinery of justice.

Helmut Pickel

(Nürnberger Nachrichten, 28 January 1988)

Strenuous bids

Continued from page 1

felt to be too compromising. At all events the original text read that the affected parties were to respect a six-month ceasefire — as though, at least in the present state of unrest, stone-throwing children and young people in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip could or should accept a ceasefire with the best army in the Middle East.

At the extraordinary conference of Arab League Foreign Ministers in Tunis even the moderate and pro-Cairo Palestinians in the entourage of PLO leader Yasser Arafat made it clear that they felt President Mubarak's Middle East peace conference plan had backfired.

It was, they argued, being launched at a time when they felt a tailwind of political support yet aimed at no more than consolidating the status quo in the territories occupied by Israel since 1967.

Even so, the situation on the West Bank and in the Gaza Strip was the main item on the agenda of talks between President Mubarak and his German Federal government hosts in Bonn.

It relegated the Gulf War to second place, which cannot be said to have been the case at the Arab summit in Amman.

President Mubarak may not have an express mandate to speak on the Arabs' behalf, but diplomatic observers in Cairo are working on the assumption that Egypt, either despite or by virtue of its peace treaty with Israel, has an intermediary role to play in international endeavours to bring about a lasting solution to the Palestinian problem.

Elsewhere in Europe, as in the United States, President Mubarak was sure to discuss bilateral issues, such as Egypt's pressing economic and financial problems.

Cairo continues to need the support of the countries he visited in its dispute with the International Monetary Fund, which has accused the Egyptians of not having honoured their solemn economic reform commitments.

In Washington Egyptian military debts totalling $4.5bn were bound to be raised, with Egypt feeling interest rates of between 14 and 17 per cent on arms debts outstanding to the United States ought at least to be halved.

Now Egypt has *de facto* regained a leading role — if not *the* leading role — in the Arab world, President Mubarak is bound to have held talks from a position of greater strength on his 10-day tour.

There are, however, bound to be fears — warranted by recent comments in the Egyptian Press — that the Egyptians have once again overrated their position.

Peter Gerner

(Kieler Nachrichten, 26 January 1988)

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■ TARIFFS & TRADE

Protectionism or free trade: Europe and Japan must make up their minds



Japan has been all smiles in its dealings with the European Commission in Brussels for several months. Tokyo has assured European Community officials that Japan is in the throes of a process of reappraisal and reorientation.

Its aim is no longer to seal off Japan from international competition but to purposefully incorporate the country in the international economy.

The Japanese government does indeed seem to be paying the European Community more attention. European fears of Far Eastern export potential are being taken more seriously. The Japanese market, officials in Tokyo promise, is to be thrown more open to imports from Europe.

Yet relations remain tense, as can be seen from the frequent anti-dumping proceedings held under the auspices of the European Commission.

There are three main reasons for this tension between Brussels and Tokyo: the heavy pressure of competition, a degree of "redirection" of the flow of Japanese exports from America to Europe due to growing US protectionism and the growing self-confidence of Japanese politicians and businessmen.

It hardly needs mentioning that Japanese products, from miniature radios to numerically-controlled machine tools, are extremely competitive in European markets.

The performance of the Japanese "export machine" is particularly apparent in connection with automobiles and a range of electronics products, such as personal computers, video recorders and semiconductors.

The clash between Japan and the United States over semiconductors, triggering export quotas and pricing agreements, had immediate repercussions on relations between Tokyo and Brussels in the context of the three-cornered trading relationship between America, Japan and Europe.

European Commission officials gained the impression that the terms agreed by the United States and Japan gave US manufacturers privileged access to the Japanese market, also elbowing out European competition via the prices agreed.

There were also fears that Japanese semiconductors which were no longer allowed into America would inundate European markets.

The Japanese have lately been seen to yield to growing US pressure on trade restrictions in respect of a number of products, concentrating more on European markets as a result.

The latest available trade figures seem to some extent to prove that the flow of trade has been redirected as feared. According to yen statistics published by Tokyo, Japanese exports to the United States declined by 10.4 per cent between January and October 1987.

Japanese exports to European Community countries increased by five per cent, which explains why the Commission has fears of a further increase in the Community's chronic deficit in trade with Japan.

It increased from roughly DM34bn in 1984 to DM47bn in 1986 and seems sure to have exceeded DM50bn last year.

The revaluation of the yen by roughly 50 per cent against the dollar since February 1985 points in the same direction, especially as the yen has gained far less dramatically against the Ecu and leading European currencies.

Since February 1985 the yen has been revalued by 5.3 per cent against the Ecu. This, the dollar's decline and punitive duties on Japanese exports to the United States have made European markets increasingly interesting for Japanese exporters.

The Europeans are not amused, as seen by the Italian government's decision to keep Japanese cars out. Direct imports from Japan already having been banned, Rome has now banned imports of Japanese cars via other European Community countries.

The Italian authorities have been empowered to do so by the Brussels Commission in accordance with Article 115 of the Treaty of Rome.

A member-country is entitled to demand protection by the terms of this provision to prevent distortion of trading patterns.

This move shows that both the Europeans and the Japanese have grounds for complaint. The imposition of quotas for Japanese car imports by Italy, Britain and France was in breach of the principle of free trade in the first place.

The common internal market, or abolition of all restrictions on trade in goods, services and capital between European Community countries, planned for 1992 calls for the Twelve to draw up a common concept on trade policy, especially toward Japan. The 12 European Community member-governments must first agree among themselves on a common denominator on which to base their trade policy toward Japan.

Is it to be based on free trade or on protectionism? No-one conversant with the course of meetings of the Council of Ministers in Brussels will expect agreement to be reached until after lengthy disputes.

The readier the Japanese are to liberalise their own market and abolish the substantial number of non-tariff barriers that still beset trade, the more effectively the French, the Italians and a number of Germans may be persuaded to be less afraid that the Japanese will be the main beneficiaries of the common internal market.

Advocates of free trade in both Europe and Japan would be depressed if the two major trading powers, the European Community and Japan, were to enter the 1990s with a system of quotas and punitive and retaliatory tariffs.

The European inclination, prompted by high unemployment, to stem the tide of Japanese imports is as much to be regretted as Tokyo's reluctance to open the Japanese market to imports.

Burgeoning self-confidence must not make the Japanese forget the basic requirement without which trade cannot flourish in the long term: equality of opportunity.

A country that wants to be sure it continues to stand a chance of holding its own in export markets must give the other country a chance to sell goods and services in its own market.

Peter Hort

(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung für Deutschland, 26 January 1988)

Continued from page 1

Gulf conflict as a promising sign with regard to the Middle East. Above all, it is up to the United States to adopt a new approach to and outlook in its Middle East policy.

Yet no matter how much effort is put in and how many initiatives are launched, all seems doomed to failure as long as disputes between the coalition parties largely paralyse Israeli politics.

In Israel, as in the United States, the election campaign has got under way. This means that the two main allies are only to a limited extent capable of action at an important stage of new developments.

So there is scant prospect for the time being of a silver lining to the clouds in the skies over a Middle East that is also hard hit by the Gulf War and the Lebanese civil war.

Herbert Leiner

(General-Anzeiger, Bonn, 25 January 1988)

Austria: to join or not to join

Austria is in the throes of a two-tier debate, the first being concerned with the past. Issues range from the wartime activities of head of state Kurt Waldheim to the 50th anniversary of the *Anschluss*, or enforced merger of Austria with the Third Reich in 1938.

At times Austrian left-wingers in particular seem so preoccupied with the past that they tend to neglect the second tier: Austria's role in Europe today.

If the word *Anschluss* is of any relevance to Austria today, then surely in terms of catching up with Western economic and technological progress — and joining the European Community.

Austrian politicians and the Austrian public are slowly starting to realise that their country has little choice but to apply for full membership of the European Community.

The conservative Austrian People's Party (ÖVP), junior partner in the Vienna coalition, recently approved a resolution stressing the need for Austria to apply to join.

This decision came about largely after pressure from ÖVP leaders in Salzburg, Tirol and Vorarlberg, Austria's western *Länder*.

Western Austria today is largely linked to the dynamics of its northern and southern neighbours, the Federal Republic of Germany and Italy, both members of the European Community.

This has advantages; it also has drawbacks. Tirol is groaning under the burden of transit traffic that threatens to ruin the Inn valley.

People in towns near the border, such as Salzburg, do their shopping in Bavaria, where articles ranging from motor fuel to butter and from electrical goods to textiles are far less expensive than in Austria.

This redirection of purchasing power is a clear indication that Austria cannot resist the attraction of the European Community, with which it already conducts two thirds of its foreign trade.

Western Austrians, as opposed to people in Vienna and the east, are well aware of this point. In both outlook on life and standard of living they already are Western Europeans.

Private industry is another advocate of joining the European Community. The private sector, unlike ailing state-owned firms, does good business with the Community.

Most industrialists realise that a chill breeze of competition would sweep Austria once it joined the Community, but they feel competition is needed.

Two groups note with scepticism, not to say displeasure, this rapprochement with the European Community. They are the trade unions and the farmers.

The unions are afraid membership of the Community would lead to an influx of migrant workers. The farmers rely on heavy subsidies for survival and could not hope to compete with their counterparts in the European Community.

German farmers have trouble enough with the Community; problems between Austria and Brussels must surely be even worse.

Supporters of joining the Community have other, subtler and more effective arguments at the ready.

Austria, they say, risks falling between two stools if, with the European Community to its west and Comecon to its east, it fails to make overtures toward Brussels.

Time is said to be short. Socialist Chancellor Franz Vranitzky and ÖVP Vice-Chancellor Alois Mock have put forward a makeshift argument that Austria must "take part" in the Common Market but defer full membership until some later date.

Austrian advocates of joining the European Community feel this line of argument is inadequate.

A further consideration is that Austria made use of a thaw in East-West ties in 1955 to negotiate independence and an end to post-war occupation status.

Today's thaw is arguably another opportunity Austria cannot afford to miss. Under Mr Gorbachov's leadership the Soviet Union might be persuaded not to object to Austria joining the Community.

Like Ireland, it could still reserve its right to remain strictly neutral in world affairs.

Splendid though it might be to be on the best of terms with Hungary and Yugoslavia, as an influential Austrian politician put it, his country had no desire to be equated with them, not even in a Central European context.

Joining the European Community was important for Austria because it would testify to the fact that although Austria was and would remain neutral in military terms, it was part of the West in political, social and economic terms.

Would the Community stand to gain from Austrian membership? It would certainly put paid to the geographical divide separating the north and south of the European Community along the Alps.

Austria is also a highly-developed country with production techniques and labour morale in keeping with those of established members of the Community. It is also a market of seven million people with substantial purchasing power.

Carl Gustaf Ströhm

(Die Welt, Bonn, 21 January 1988)

■ PEOPLE

87-year-old banker wins 'own' award

Cosmopolitan, 87-year-old Hamburg banker Eric M. Warburg has been awarded the Atlantik-Brücke's Eric M. Warburg Prize in recognition of his contribution toward German-American relations. Guests at the presentation ceremony, held in Hamburg on 22 January, included Federal President Richard von Weizsäcker. The Atlantik-Brücke, based in Bonn and Hamburg, is a German association for the promotion of German-American friendship.

Banker Eric M. Warburg, who is Jewish, fled his native Germany in 1938 and returned as a US officer. After the war he dedicated himself to restoring cooperation and understanding between the two countries.

Now 87, he can look back on a long and tempestuous lifetime of service.

It may well be for a future generation of historians to assess the influence he exerted on major political and economic decisions of the 20th century.

This is what one of his colleagues of 50 years' standing, Christian Democrat MEP Erik Blumenfeld, has to say about him:

"Eric Warburg has always been a man who placed the objective over the individual, a man of incredible energy and intensity.

"He has accomplished much in German-American relations, being personally acquainted with all leading statesmen in both countries and enjoying their confidence. Yet at the bottom of his heart he has always remained a Hamburg man."

If ever a man could lay claim to having been a witness of his era, then it must surely be Eric Warburg, a highly successful private banker, untiring patron and philanthropist and astute adviser to leading 20th century politicians.

His is a family that has included both bankers with international connections and scholars of international repute.

His father Max Warburg, head of the Hamburg private bank then known as M. M. Warburg, was a friend of Kaiser Wilhelm II, a close associate of shipowner Albert Ballin and an adviser of the last Imperial Chancellor, Prince Max of Baden.

Max Warburg enjoyed the reputation of being the uncrowned king of Hamburg. His son grew up in a home of great social splendour in which a stern sense of duty nonetheless prevailed.

From his earliest years Eric Warburg gained an insight into the consequence of political events and decisions.

His father, a typical patriotic Jewish big bourgeois of the Wilhelminian era, advised the German delegation at the Versailles peace talks.

Warburg resigned, feeling Germany need not sign the Versailles Treaty as drafted by the Allies.

In the early years of the Weimar Republic Walter Rathenau, the Reich Foreign Minister, was a frequent visitor to the Warburg villa in Blankenese, Hamburg, to which Eric Warburg has now retired.

Max Warburg was one of many German Jews who could not imagine Hitler ever succeeding in Germany with his radical, anti-Semitic policy and triggering the pogroms that later took place.



Eric Warburg (Photo: dpa)

"I was determined," he later wrote about the initial years of the Nazi regime, "to defend my firm like a fortress." He did so with the tenacity, courage and acumen that were typical of him.

Yet: "Business grew slack. The spate of anti-Jewish legislation had to be studied by the firm's eight lawyers."

His son, Eric Warburg, saw more clearly what lay ahead and that Hitler was determined to go to war.

He left Germany in 1938, a few months before his father, having previously succeeded in enabling many fellow-Jews to escape.

The father and son set up a successful new bank, E. M. Warburg & Co., in New York.

After the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbourg and the outbreak of war between the United States and Germany Eric Warburg reported for US military service. He served as an intelligence officer.

So it was that after the German capitulation in May 1945 he interrogated leading Nazis such as Hermann Göring, leading military men such as Field-Marshal Kesselring and leading German scientists.

He has had little to say about his wartime experiences. He has very little to say about himself.

One such testimony is a letter to newspaper proprietor Axel Springer, who had criticised the Allies' failure in the 1920s and 1930s to see what was brewing in Germany.

"In this connection," Warburg wrote, "I am reminded of a time in the Second World War when I was serving with USAAF and RAF combat intelligence.

"When the Allies began heavily bombing Lübeck I approached the British authorities and tried to make it clear to them that Lübeck was of strictly cultural value and of no military significance. I strongly championed stopping the bombardment of Lübeck."

Air Marshal Sir Arthur Harris, "Bomber Harris," tried to brush his intervention aside, insisting on sparing no target accessible to aerial bombardment in Germany after the German bombardment of London, Coventry and other British cities.

But Warburg stuck to his guns. "I then arranged for Carl Burckhardt of the International Red Cross in Switzerland to inform the British government that all letters and parcels to British prisoners-of-war in Germany went via Lübeck." Lübeck was spared further bombardment.

At the end of 1943 Eric Warburg worked behind the scenes to persuade US foreign policymakers not to make Hamburg and Schleswig-Holstein part of the proposed Soviet zone of occupation in Germany.

At the end of the war he arranged for German scientists and their families to

Continued on page 6

A consistent advocate of 'quiet diplomacy' and reconciliation

News of the sudden death of Werner Nachmann, chairman of the board of governors of the Central Council of Jews in Germany (to give him his official title), came as a great shock.

He had been spokesman of the Jewish community, or at least of communities affiliated to the Central Council, since 1965.

Expressions of grief are not just a formality. Nachmann was known and respected both in Bonn and in Karlsruhe and his native Baden. He was on long-standing terms of personal friendship with many leading public figures.

Nachmann was a consistent advocate of "quiet diplomacy." In contrast to, say, Heinz Galinski, the head of the Jewish community in West Berlin, he preferred not to air problems and scandals in public.

Public protest was not his way of trying to solve problems. He preferred behind-the-scenes talks and personal encounter and intervention.

Balance and restraint were always the keynotes of his personal response. He was not given to either polemics or attack.

Regardless which political party or parties held power in Bonn, Werner Nachmann had access to the government, the churches and the trade unions. His concept of confidential collaboration was held in high esteem by political leaders.

This esteem is reflected in the letter of condolence written on his death by Bishop Kruse, head of the Protestant Church in Germany, who refers to Nachmann's "energy and presence of mind" and regrets the demise of a frank and open-minded interlocutor.

Nachmann's reputation was also based on respect for the life he had led. His was a long-established family of Karlsruhe businessmen, a family steeped in Baden liberalism and the German patriotism of middle-class Jews.

That was why he felt the family's expulsion in 1938, their flight to France and life underground as an appalling period of personal humiliation and danger.

Yet the Nazi era made no difference to his fundamental affirmation of being a German. In 1945, aged 20, he returned to Karlsruhe as soon as it fell to the Allies. The Nachmanns played a large part in the re-establishment of the Jewish community in the city.

In 1961 Werner Nachmann succeeded his father as head of Karlsruhe's Jewish community and took over as head of the Jewish communities in Baden. Four years later he was elected chairman of the board of governors of the Central Council.

He was not prepared, as he once put it, to let Hitler and the Nazis get away with their "final victory." If the few surviving Jews were to leave Germany the "final solution" would be fully vindicated.

"Despite the continued incomprehensibility of what had happened," he said on 9 November 1978 in Cologne, "we (returned Jews) were ready and willing to help establish democracy and restore human dignity. We did not do so in vain."

This assessment was (and remains) controversial within the Jewish com-



Werner Nachmann (Photo: dpa)

munity, but Nachmann stood by it despite bitter disappointments and setbacks suffered partly at the hands of those to whom he felt a political affinity.

Despite his "quiet diplomacy" he was unable to persuade Chancellor Kohl to intervene sooner and more unmistakably when Christian Democratic officeholders made anti-Semitic remarks.

He was equally unable to prevent the official ceremonies during President Reagan's visit to the site of Belsen concentration camp or the gesture of German-American reconciliation at Bitburg war cemetery.

With Jewish protest so ineffective, Nachmann and the Jewish Establishment could only declare their solidarity with rebellious Jewish youngsters.

Yet the demonstrative absence of concentration camp inmates was ignored by Christian dignitaries who attended the ceremony held by Chancellor Kohl and President Reagan at the Belsen memorial to tens of thousands of Jewish martyrs.

In private conversation Nachmann made it quite clear how this had disappointed him. In principle he was strongly in favour of reconciliation, an outlook mainly enjoined on the victims and their children by their persecutors.

He set greater store by what people had done since 1945 than by their attitude prior to 1945. This applied, for instance, to Hans Globke, state secretary under Chancellor Adenauer.

In the Third Reich Globke wrote commentaries on the Nazi race laws. After the war he made a name for himself as an expert on reparations payments to the Jews.

It also applied to Wehrmacht judge Hans Filbinger, later accused of drumhead courtmartial sentences, who went on to become CDU Premier of Baden-Württemberg.

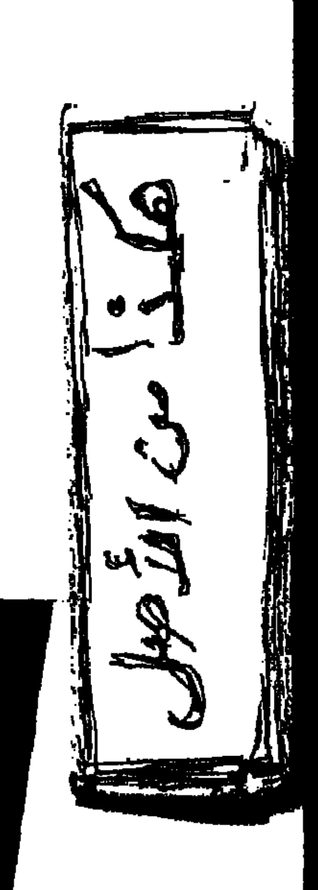
Nachmann wrote to Filbinger assuring him of his support even after he had been dropped by the CDU.

Yet Werner Nachmann never ceased to sound a warning note. Long before the slogan of the Germans' "second guilt," that of suppressing the past, he warned:

"We are not accusing the younger generation of responsibility for what their fathers did. But we do blame the fathers for not telling the younger generation the course of history as they experienced it."

Günther B. Ginzel

(Deutsches Allgemeines Sonntagsblatt, Hamburg, 31 January 1988)



■ DEFENCE STRATEGY

US 'discriminate deterrence' policy review triggers German nuclear fears of old



The recommendations made in "Discriminate Deterrence," a report on US defence policy strategy for the next 20 years submitted to the Defence Secretary and President Reagan's security advisers on 12 January, have caused a stir in Bonn.

The report was compiled by the "Commission for the Elaboration of an Integrated Long-Term Strategy".

The chairman of the CDU/CSU parliamentary party in the Bundestag, Alfred Dregger, has warned that Europe is running the risk of moving "beneath the military dominance of the Soviet Union".

Fellow-Christian Democrat Volker Rühe, otherwise known for his level-headedness, feels that the western alliance is fundamentally in jeopardy.

The secretary of state in the Bonn Defence Ministry, Lothar Rühl, is concerned about "fatal consequences".

And even Egon Bahr, the disarmament expert of the SPD, feels, albeit with no outward signs of regret, that "the end of Nato" is nigh.

It doesn't take much to make the bottom fall out of some people's worlds, it seems.

Even before the wording of the controversial document was studied more thoroughly, European consternation had already obliged the Reagan Administration to play down its significance.

"The document does not stand for the politics of this government," said a White House press spokesman.

Indeed, the twelve men and one woman who discussed the document for 15 months before giving it their seal of approval, are — with the exception of the outgoing undersecretary of defence, Fred Iklé — neither members of government nor government employees.

Yet all Commission members have had a say in America's strategic planning for many years.

Albert Wohlstetter, for instance, has ranked as one of the leading theoreticians of the nuclear age for over 30 years and has advised almost every Defence Secretary.

Henry Kissinger, Zbigniew Brzezinski and William Clark were security advisers to the last three US presidents.

Andrew Goodpaster, James Holloway and John Vessey are retired soldiers who once held high-ranking posts.

It is obvious that they cannot all speak on behalf of an Administration whose defence policy reflections have never moved beyond the dulled "America must become strong again" motto and the pie in the sky SDI project.

The report which triggered so much concern in Bonn does not reveal any radically new ideas. The fare on the 69-page menu is pretty familiar.

The Soviet Union is still viewed as the biggest threat, even though a worldwide conflict between East and West is regarded as improbable.

The report predicts an increase in the number of conflicts in the Third World.

The growing spread of modern weapons will undermine the possibilities of both world powers to intervene; technology will change the nature of military options in the coming decades.

It comes as no surprise that the ideas outlined by the Commission are strongly influenced by the Iranian trauma which faced both the Carter and the Reagan Administrations.

Soviet intervention in the Persian Gulf, "at the request" of a new revolutionary regime for example, tops the list of possible "wars on the Soviet periphery" — not conflicts in Europe.

Bonn's concern does not relate to such debatable aspects, but to the report's statements and recommendations on Europe and on nuclear weapons.

Once again, however, the report does not come up with anything really new in this field.

Many Europeans have probably long since taken for granted something which is now presented as a new realisation, namely that military planning in Washington as well as in most Western European capitals has been shaped by two extreme danger scenarios for too long.

They are a massive conventional attack on Western Europe by the Warsaw Pact and an uncontrolled nuclear attack on the United States by the Soviet Union.

Although both scenarios are possible they are much more improbable than other, less apocalyptic conflicts.

The conclusion the American Long-Term Commission draws from this fact sends shudders down the spines of many West German politicians, who have already suffered the slings and arrows of missile modernisation and the zero solution.

Since major, apocalyptic wars are not on the agenda, the report maintains, limited wars — including limited nuclear wars — cannot be ruled out.

Nuclear retaliation

Wohlstetter, Iklé & Co. now openly advocate nuclear weapons possibly being used in such eventualities.

If deterrence fails and the Soviets decide to make a limited strike against the West the response should be "discriminate" retaliation against Soviet command headquarters or troop concentrations.

"The western alliance should not threaten to use nuclear weapons in order to extend the conflict — even though there is a continued risk of a nuclear build-up — but primarily as an instrument to deny attacking Soviet troops military success," says the report.

And, more explicitly: "We can no longer base our strategy on threats which — if effected — imply our own annihilation... What we need are militarily effective possibilities of response that limit the extent of destruction if we don't want to bring about the destruction of what we intend defending."

These considerations are, by no means new, but have existed almost as long as nuclear deterrence itself.

The difficulty involved in bringing European and American interests into accord is also a familiar problem.

The Europeans, at least those who believe in deterrence, always wanted to link their own fate via nuclear weapons with their distant American ally, for better or for worse.

The Americans, on the other hand, always wanted to limit the risk of being dragged into nuclear devastation via a war in Europe.

Efforts to reduce risks have pervaded the American strategy debate during the last three decades.

Yet critics in Bonn, however, have only now begun to sit up and take notice.

At the beginning of the 50s tactical nuclear weapons were still classed as a useful substitute for conventional troops, of which there was a shortage in Europe.

However, following the Sputnik shock in 1957, when the Russians for the first time demonstrated an operational intercontinental missile which put America in the nuclear line of fire, the United States suddenly became aware of the risks involved in this strategy.

Nuclear weapons — both strategic and tactical — then became a deterrence reserve. Not a substitute for conventional defence, but an additional threat to deny the enemy hopes of victory in a limited conventional war.

This led to the concept of "flexible response", which became Nato strategy in 1967 and still officially applies today.

The risks associated with America's alliance with Europe grew following the rapid extension of the Soviet nuclear arms arsenal in the late Seventies.

The question was raised more and more probingly as to what would happen if deterrence failed.

The answer given was to make plans for the deployment of nuclear weapons more sophisticated.

In 1970 Henry Kissinger formulated the following question for President Nixon:

"Should the President only have an option in an emergency to order the mass annihilation of the enemy's civilian population?"

Since then all American governments have given the same answer.

Nuclear deployment options were busily elaborated beneath the threshold of a "total" nuclear strike itself.

The aim was no longer to merely prevent a nuclear war via deterrence, but to pull through such a war if it broke out.

Paul Nitze, today one of President Reagan's most experienced disarmament experts, put the strategy in a nutshell: "There's only one thing which is worse than a nuclear war and that's losing a nuclear war."

The Pentagon's Long-Term Commission has simply reiterated what has long been an American consensus.

Every US Defence Secretary for the past 10 years has basically said the same in his white papers: if deterrence fails America should not be faced by the option of either capitulating or of blowing the world to kingdom come, since deterrence would then cease to be credible.

If Soviet Defence Ministers were to publish white papers they would express similar sentiment.

The limited (and limitable) use of nuclear weapons is not ruled out; escalation from a regional into a worldwide conflict need not be automatic.

The Commission's recommendation, therefore, that nuclear weapons should not only exert a deterrent influence via escalation but primarily via their military impact in the theatre of war can only surprise those who have so far refused to take notice of what is happening around them.

Concern in Bonn resulted from German uncertainty rather than from American reappraisal.

The SPD has concentrated on the pleasant side of security policy, namely disarmament, and left the unpleasant aspects of military security and deterrence to others.

The CDU and CSU would like to do the same, but they bear the burden of government responsibility.

Their slogan, "the shorter the missiles, the deader the Germans", as well as the understandable call for an "overall concept" are just a case of playing for time.

Longer-term approach

The fact that US long-term strategists lay bare the contradictions rather than cover them up is a disruptive factor.

A longer-term approach is more urgent than ever.

In one year's time a new US president will be confronted by the most difficult question of all: under what circumstances should he press the nuclear button?

A balanced and thought-out study by Western Europeans of their security requirements during the next 20 years — the need for defence and disarmament — could accelerate the progress of the Atlantic dialogue.

Even then, however, those who issue words of warning in Bonn should heed two things they have apparently ignored so far:

- First: those Americans who talk of using nuclear weapons in certain situations are also interested in deterrence and not waging a war.

A great deal would suggest that plans for a limited use of nuclear weapons are illusory anyway; in all probability, a nuclear war cannot be confined.

Nevertheless, the attempt to do so does not necessarily contradict effective deterrence.

- Second: the contradiction between the European interest in linking the United States to the fate of the old continent and the American interest in not necessarily jeopardising the survival of the New World by becoming involved in a war in Europe can never be completely eliminated.

It can at best be overcome via political trust, not via military *aides-mémoires*.

Attempts by the alliance to cure a malaise in transatlantic political relations via arms decisions have failed often enough; the missile deployment issue in Europe is just one example.

Contrary to Bonn's response to the "Discriminate Deterrence" report the alliance is not at a crossroads.

Perhaps some time in the future public opinion in Europe and in the United States may view the nuclear alliance link as a risk and not as an advantage, regarding the nuclear con-tradiction of deterrence as unacceptable to both sides.

Disarmament and detente between East and West may also gradually reduce the security risks which have always accompanied the nuclear age.

All this, however, is still a long way off. It is not in the German interest to act as if this were not the case.

Christoph Bertram

(Die Zeit, Hamburg, 29 January 1988)

■ THE ECONOMY

Frankfurt Bundesbank walks deutschemark along a stability tightrope

Deutsche Bundesbank, Germany's Frankfurt-based central bank, is the most successful West German economic policy institution.

Undeterred by the ups and downs of political developments over the years it has unwaveringly stood by its objective of ensuring monetary stability.

The Bundesbank's founding fathers gave the new central bank full autonomy in order to avoid mistakes made in the past.

The Bundesbank is independent of political directives from Bonn and is not accountable to the Bundestag for its activities. Its task is to safeguard the currency, which above all means ensuring price stability.

According to the Deutsche Bundesbank Act, however, it is obliged "in compliance with its tasks" to support the Bonn government's overall economic policy.

One important means of maintaining a stable deutschemark is the Bundesbank's money supply policy.

This aspect of Bundesbank policy hit the headlines recently after the Bundesbank's central bank council, which comprises the Bundesbank directors and the eleven presidents of the *Land* (regional) central banks, decided that the money supply should only increase by between three and six per cent in 1988. This money supply policy is based on concepts elaborated by a group of economists referred to since 1967 as "monetarists".

The monetarist counter-revolution was a direct attack on economic policies generally accepted at that time and based on the theory advocated by the English economist John Maynard Keynes that the lack of private demand should be remedied by government demand in order to avoid unemployment.

The Keynesianists were particularly fond of *pump-priming* programmes, which were financed via *government* budget deficits and cheap money.

In the end, however, they were powerless in the face of the chronic post-war inflation their policies had helped to create.

This was when the monetarists appeared on the scene. They called upon the central banks to set their sights on a long-term growth in money supply.

Furthermore, banks should gear the growth rate of money supply to economic growth trends as well as fix, announce and stick to specific monetary goals.

The monetarists believe that if the money supply is kept within tight limits this must also apply to demand, i.e. counteract inflation.

This new approach fascinated monetary policymakers the world over.

In 1974 the Bundesbank also opted for money supply targeting. However, it never laboured under the misconception that this was a miracle cure able to offset adverse developments in the pay and fiscal policy fields.

The Bundesbank never glorified the money supply target as an end in itself, but regarded it as merely one way of stabilising the deutschemark.

Money supply targeting in the Federal Republic of Germany covers note and coin circulation, sight deposits on current accounts, time deposits and savings deposits with the three-month statutory withdrawal notice.

If the money supply target set by the Bundesbank overshoots the ceiling level the bank does not respond by effecting hectic counter-regulatory measures.

With the help of the regulatory tools at its disposal the bank could keep the money supply more and less within the fixed target funnel.

However, no-one would benefit from such a move if, at the end of the year, the bank discovers that the monetary target has been attained but that the economy has suffered as a result.

The announcement of a money supply target, however, obliges the Bundesbank to gauge the success of its monetary policy course in terms of a specific point of reference and to explain and justify any deviations from the target set — as has been necessary for the past two years.

A few weeks ago political circles in Bonn were alarmed at the news that the expected transfer of Bundesbank profits amounting to DM6bn to the Exchequer will not take place due to the decline in profits due to the dollar slump.

The transfer of profits to the Bonn Finance Minister was always controversial, since it prolongs the straightening out of an indebted budget.

There was vigorous protest by the CDU/CSU Opposition back in 1981 when the then Finance Minister in Bonn, Hans Matthöfer (SPD), incorporated the transfer of Bundesbank profits to finance the Federal budget.

Since these parties have been in government, however, they have themselves openly resorted to these substantial Bundesbank profits to plug the budget gap.

The transfer of Bundesbank profits to the Bonn Treasury was a bone of contention right from the start.

After all, the Bundesbank is the economy's only money source. If it puts money into circulation this is money creation and if it takes money out of circulation this is money destruction.

Money creation which is not complemented by a higher range of purchasable goods runs the risk of causing inflation.

A financing of public deficits via Bundesbank profits, therefore, means turning on the money supply tap in favour of the public purse and triggering an inflationary process. The Bundesbank profits, however, must be assessed more discriminately. There are three sources:

First, the interest earnings on foreign exchange reserves. Most of the Bundesbank's foreign exchange reserves are invested in US government securities, which provide high interest income.

Second, these investments yield exchange rate profits if the dollar appreciates, but exchange rate losses if its value falls.

Third, German banks pay interest on the central bank loans they receive from the Bundesbank. For the Bundebank this interest income is a profit.

The impact of the transferred Bundesbank profits on the German economy varies depending on their source.

If profits come from interest income provided by domestic banks, Federal budget spending merely injects liquid funds back into circulation which were withdrawn from circulation beforehand as a result of interest payments to the Bundesbank.

The same applies to Bundesbank *profits* originating from exchange rate gains made by selling off dollars.

These profits are made when the Bundebank sells it dollars, say, to *support the* deutschemark at an exchange rate higher than its book value. The dollar currently figures at DM1.71 in the Bundesbank balance sheet. Selling off dollars at a higher rate produces profits.

If these profits are then transferred to the Federal treasury this is simply reversing part of the former withdrawal of money which resulted from buying dollars with deutschemarks.

The Bundesbank has not been in this favourable situation for a long time. It has had to buy up appreciable amounts of dollars at a lower exchange rate than that fixed *in the* balance sheet to support the US currency.

There have also been substantial exchange rate losses on the Bundesbank's dollar investments.

During these interventions to support the dollar the Bundesbank increased the domestic money supply by buying up dollars with deutschemarks.

Wherever there was danger of triggering inflation the Bundesbank absorbed the risk, for example, by obliging banks to deposit higher minimum reserves at the Bundesbank and thus withdrawing money from circulation.

The fact that the Bundesbank transferred its profits to the Bonn Treasury in *two instalments* last year indicates its concern about the inflationary effects of this transfer. The "custodians of the currency" needn't worry too much this year. There are no profits in sight.

Rudolf Rohde

(Deutsches Allgemeines Sonntagsblatt, Hamburg, 31 January 1988)

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be whisked away from the advancing Soviet forces and brought to safety in the West.

He appealed to the US High Commissioner in Germany, John J. McCloy, to stop dismantling German industry, which was making reconstruction more difficult.

He was an untiring advocate, helping countless individuals and institutions, including the Red Cross, the Israelitisches Krankenhaus in Hamburg, the University of Haifa, the Institute of Strategic Studies in London and his native city, Hamburg, the ruins of which he first revisited as a US officer in 1945.

He returned to Hamburg a decade later in a gesture of reconciliation between Germans and Jews and of friendship between Germans and Americans.

He bought back a partnership in the family firm, which since 1970 has traded as M. M. Warburg-Brinckmann, Wirtz & Co.

His close personal friends include Helmut Schmidt, to whom, as Chancellor in 1979, he lent his two-mast schooner *Atalanta* for a political cruise in the Bay of Danzig.

The political significance of this cruise, 40 years after the outbreak of the Second World War, was clear to, and intentional on the part of, both the banker and the Chancellor.

Erik Blumenfeld's comment that at the bottom of his heart Eric Warburg has always remained a Hamburg man is borne out by a remark Warburg once made about his relationship with his native city:

"My family, having lived here since the Thirty Years' War, has always sought to serve the city to the best of its ability."

Uwe Bahnsen

(Die Welt, Bonn, 23 January 1988)

■ INDUSTRY

Last-ditch bid to avert steel closure

In a last-ditch bid to avert closure of the Krupp steelworks in Rheinhausen, the 5,300 Duisburg steelworkers, led by works council chairman Manfred Bruckschen, have spearheaded an imaginative campaign widely supported by trade unionists and public opinion in the Ruhr. It has ranged, since the beginning of December, from nightly cable TV programmes to calling on the Iranian government, minority shareholders in Krupp, to veto the shutdown.

When the women's choir set up by Rheinhausen steelworkers' wives sings its protest songs on cable TV, viewers at the Erlöserkirche, a local Protestant church, are moved and impressed.

One vocal appeal for coal and steel to continue to provide Duisburg people with a livelihood is sung to the melody of the German national anthem.

Another energetically proclaims that Rheinhausen steelworkers have a right to work for themselves and their children and that no-one is going to succeed in closing the works over their heads.

It is the inaugural evening of a cable TV protest channel to avert closure, and several hundred people have met at the church to see the programmes that are to be screened every evening after the TV News in the homes of 3,600 Rheinhausen families with cable TV.

The church elders unanimously agreed to screen the programme in church. The channel was approved in record time by the North Rhine-Westphalian licensing authority in Düsseldorf.

Run by local people, its sole purpose is to support the struggle by 5,300 Krupp steelworkers to avert closure. And they need all the support they can get.

Viewers can now be called on nightly, and live, to back the latest campaign moves in what works council chairman Manfred Bruckschen feels sure will be the tough weeks that lie ahead.

Duisburg Oberbürgermeister Josef Krings says in his opening speech on the protest channel that he feels what Manfred Bruckschen is doing is much more interesting than the jokes of (TV comedian) Rudi Carrell. Mayor Krings is enthusiastically applauded.

Local people have long ceased to be amused by jokes. Since the announcement by the Krupp board that the 90-year-old steelworks is to be closed, Rheinhausen has been up in arms.

Steelworkers, local traders and businessmen, churches, clubs and political parties are united in opposing the company's plans for a virtual shutdown of an entire suburb of Duisburg.

Video films about the Save Rheinhausen campaign can be seen on Channel 6 in Rheinhausen, fed into the cable TV system of the Krupp staff housing corporation from an attic transmitter.

Two Krupp workers, a fitter and a crane-driver, have filmed the protests, including torchlight processions. Their films were earlier screened on TV sets in local shop windows.

On cable TV the programme presenter proclaims that imagination is needed to fight the closure plans. The proceedings are simultaneously translated into Turkish for the families of Turkish workers whose livelihoods are equally threatened by the closure plans.

In the foyer of the Erlöserkirche the atmosphere is almost festive, with beer and snacks being served as the inaugural programme is screened.

There are no signs of either fatigue or resignation — even though the past few days have been particularly disheartening.

"Believe me," says Manfred Bruckschen, "we are going to step up the pace of protest." He promises moderation and non-violence, but continued protest on a massive scale.

Support has been widespread, especially in the Ruhr and North-Rhine Westphalia, ever since closure plans were announced at the beginning of December, the steelworkers having been left in the dark until the last minute about the detailed closure plans that were being drawn up.

A week before Christmas, after initial protest, they were led to believe talks would be held with the aim of keeping the works open if at all possible.

Then Krupp supervisory board chairman Wilhelm Scheider said closure was inevitable as part of cooperation terms agreed with Mannesmann and Thyssen.

Days later Bonn Economic Affairs Minister Martin Bangemann gave the closure plan what amount to official backing by saying he could, with the best will in the world, see no way how closure of Rheinhausen could be averted.

The Krupp board then presented details of a closure plan drawn up without consulting the works council. It aims at avoiding mass redundancies by offering early retirement, alternative employment and generous redundancy payments.

"They've left us in the dark yet again." says works councillor Georg Augustin, who has worked at Rheinhausen for 35 years. "Can we now trust even anything they sign, let alone what they say?"

In mid-December the works council and IG Metall, the 2.5m-strong engineering workers' union, named two experts who were to consider alternatives to closure.

They were economics professor Norbert Koubek and the former IG Metall



economics expert Günter Stolz, now a tax consultant.

They requisitioned documentation and held exploratory talks with the management. Negotiations between the works council and the management were to be postponed until the experts had arrived at a conclusion.

But the management now seems determined to go it alone, and the workers have a nasty feeling its policy is to divide and rule, undermining solidarity with other steelworkers.

Management policy seems to be to persuade Rheinhausen steelworkers aged 53 to 55 that by agreeing to an early pension scheme they may avert the worst for themselves and their families, leaving the Devil to take the hindmost.

But what, as one steelworker puts it, is to happen to their children and grandchildren if the works are shut down? He has a son and a son-in-law who work at the steelworks. Where are their children going to find work if the worst comes to the worst?

So the campaigners are resolved to

Continued on page 8

Iran and the man who may veto Krupp shutdown

The Iranian Deputy Finance Minister, Mohamad-Mehdi Navab-Motlagh, made a surprise visit to the Krupp steelworks in Rheinhausen, Duisburg, which is facing closure.

The visit was in response to a written plea by Mehmet Aslan, a young Turkish worker, who appealed to the Iranians for help to stop the closure in the name of Allah and Islam.

The resourceful Turk wrote the letter to the Iranians after he heard last November that plans were afoot to close the works. The letter, which was written in the name of 800 Turkish workers, made Aslan into an overnight celebrity.

"You are a member of the board and therefore we ask you in the name of Allah and our Muslim brothers not to agree to the planned closure. Our last hope is to ask our Muslim brothers to help us stop this inhuman act. Your good deed will not be forgotten."

Aslan and Manfred Bruckschen, the chairman of the works council, followed up this plea by making three phone calls to the Iranian cabinet minister.

All of a sudden they got word that the visit was on. However the minister wanted no publicity. So the works council kept the visit a secret. Reporters looking for information were given the cold shoulder.

Only Manfred Bruckschen and his deputy, Theo Steegmann, Walter Busch and Mehmet Aslan knew about the details of the visit.

The Iranians have a 25.1 per cent interest, acquired during the Shah's era, which gives them a veto on the board of Krupp Steel and Fried. Krupp. The visit to Rheinhausen *was arranged for 17 January*. The following day the finance minister was going to a board meeting at the Essen parent company.

In view of the keen media interest the all those involved erected a wall of silence around the visit. The Iranian embassy in Bonn cooperated in keeping the time and place of the visit a secret. The board of Fried. Krupp blocked all inquiries. They said: "We have no reason to discuss the appointments of this board in public."

However there were mixed feelings on the works council about the visit. Many members were not quite sure how the "Iranian card" would be played.

The left-wing had moral scruples about seeing the Khomeini regime, in view of its record on human rights, as the saviour of the Rheinhausen steelworks.

"The regime is not exactly what you would call democratic," said one strategist.

The workers know that the Iranians have a veto on the board. And that in 1981 they used it on the supervisory board to veto the proposed dismissal of 5,000 workers. But they are exercising discretion about whether the Iranians will make a dream come true by saving the works from closure.

Admittedly the tenacity of some reporters broke down the secrecy surrounding the meeting. On the Sunday of the meeting they set up camp outside Bruckschen's flat on the edge of Rheinhausen and watched his every move he made.

He told reporters: "We don't know either exactly what's going to happen. We're being deliberately kept in the dark."

Escorted by two plain clothes policemen, Bruckschen drove to the Breidenbacher Hof luxury hotel in Düsseldorf to meet the finance minister.

When he got there, he found that Krupp board chairman Manfred Cromme had got wind of the visit and met with Motlagh to give his version of the situation.



Man with a key role: Iranian finance Minister. (Photo: Süddeutscher Verlag)

Motlagh left the hotel in Bruckschen's company car, followed by a press motorcade, and went with him to the meeting. They drove up to the Krupp Stahl canteen, which lies only a few metres from the dilapidated former directors' villa.

Two hours later the 40 year-old minister presented himself to the press. He came across as a modest man who carefully phrased his words and whose manner and appearance contradicted the usual cliches about the Iranian regime. One could have easily mistaken him for a western manager.

Mortlagh studied mechanical engineering in Hanover and qualified with a PhD.

From 1979 to 1981 he was chargé d'affaires for his country and from then until November 1983 he was the Iranian ambassador in Bonn.

He has not lost any of his old diplomatic skills. He told the press he could not make any definite statement on how the vote would go at the meeting of the supervisory board.

He said he did not see his role as that of mediator between the works council and the management. Instead he expected serious negotiations on a "reasonable solution" taking humanitarian and social aspects of the case into consideration.

He said he had also no intention of using his visit as propaganda for Islamic fundamentalism.

He impressed on Mehmet Aslan that he was here not just on account of the 800 Muslims but for the sake of all Rheinhausen steelworkers.

He had no intention of intervening in German domestic politics.

The Rheinhausen works councillors have breathed a sigh of relief. They feel he has made it clear that his aim is not to foment Islamic fundamentalism among Turkish steelworkers, thereby siding with the right-wing Grey Wolves among the Turkish community in Germany.

He may not have committed himself on the future of the works, but the works council are more than happy with his visit. Iran remains the Great Unknown in the dispute over Rheinhausen's future.

When steelworkers called at the works council to ask what the Iranian visitor had had to say, councillor Stefan Skodacek sounded an enthusiastic note.

"He's on our side," he said. "Maybe he can get the board to reconsider."

Mehmet Aslan was also convinced that the Iranian visitor was on the workers' side. The seventh week of the protest has since got under way, with Staying Power is Rheinhausen's Strong Point as the slogan of the week.

Hans-Ulrich Jörges

(Süddeutsche Zeitung, Munich, 19 January 1988)

■ REGIONS

Hamburg, city of millionaires and municipal megadebts

DEUTSCHES ALLGEMEINES SONNTAGSBLATT

Hamburg still enjoys the reputation of being rich, but the city is in fact up to its neck in trouble.

Hamburg is regarded as the proud "beauty of the North," the haven for jet-setters, the city with the highest salaries and the most millionaires, cosmopolitan and affluent. That is one private view.

The other, Hamburg's public aspect, is that the city has debts running into DM18bn and is close to bankruptcy. The city has had to economise, put a stop to recruiting personnel and has been obliged to sell off assets.

The richest city in the Federal Republic is in fact poor. Civic accountants are realising the full horror of the situation in current finance planning. To balance the 1988 accounts DM800m is needed and the financial and economic situation is likely to remain grim over the next few years.

The Hamburg authorities have not frittered the money away foolishly. The financial crisis is not the result of gross economic mismanagement.

It is possible to question forcefully public expenditure policies, and that is being done in the city because of the shortage of funds.

Generally speaking, however, the Hamburg authorities have been more economic than other municipal authorities that have been much more lavish in many ways in public spending.

Over many years the facts of the city's structure and tendencies generally have exhausted Hamburg, and central government decisions have now dramatically increased the crisis.

A few points that could be cited are:

- The false basis of assessment for the reallocation of taxes to the states from tax revenues collected by central government. It has taken several years for politicians in the north to realise the explosive nature of the assessment system and deal with it.

At first the Federal Constitutional Court ruled that these regulations were, to a large degree, unconstitutional. This opened up the way for the dispute to be settled by new regulations.

The regulations are undoubtedly proper but not fair. They put the city-states of Hamburg and Bremen at a disadvantage.

- The function of a large city, separated from its surrounding countryside by state borders, is another factor that also affects Hamburg.

Every day, for instance, more than 180,000 commuters come to Hamburg to work from Schleswig-Holstein and Lower Saxony. They earn their pay in Hamburg and the city-state has to bear infrastructure costs.

But they pay their taxes to tax offices in Schleswig-Holstein and Lower Saxony amounting to at least DM700m annually.

- There is then the economic difference, so often quoted, between the north and the south of the Federal Republic. It is just those branches of industry that are in crisis, such as coal and steel, shipbuilding and shipping (and, of course, agriculture) that are located in the north and create considerable expenditure.

The unfavourable consequences on state finances are obvious. This is made worse by the improper division of tax revenues and subsidies.

Bonn government tax decisions have opened up a further gap in the city's 1988 budget to the tune of DM470m.

If economic growth threatens to fall to zero this will affect constantly increasing social benefits finances. Financing long-term unemployment holds out the possibilities of incalculable risks for Hamburg's budget.

The Hamburg Senate is well aware of the causes of the city's financial plight, but to alter them in the short term seems impossible.

Equally, further petitions to the Constitutional Court to re-examine the new rulings concerning financial adjustments between the states and central government do not seem to hold out many hopes of easing Hamburg's financial burden.

Hamburg's circumstances will remain grim for a number of years. The wrongly directed flow of finances, involving Hamburg and Bremen, is not only an expression of out-dated legislation, adjustment mechanisms that are inflexible and a conflict of interests between the states.

It also reflects the prevailing political majority in the Federal Republic. There is no immediate change of that in sight.

In the meantime Hamburg politicians have no idea what to do about the DM800m gap in the 1988 budget. It is no comfort to them to know that their colleagues in Bremen, Kiel, Hanover, Düsseldorf and Saarbrücken are in the same boat.

Stringent economies

In all the poor states treasurers are currently trying out the tortures of stringent economies. They hope to bring some reason to their high-spending colleagues in government.

The Hamburg Senate has especially set up a committee, made up of three senators and four city-state councillors, who currently are conferring behind closed doors.

In February the members of this committee will go into seclusion to cope with the difficult and painful business of finance and budget planning.

Perhaps they will go to work in better spirits after the poor example shown in financial management by central government.

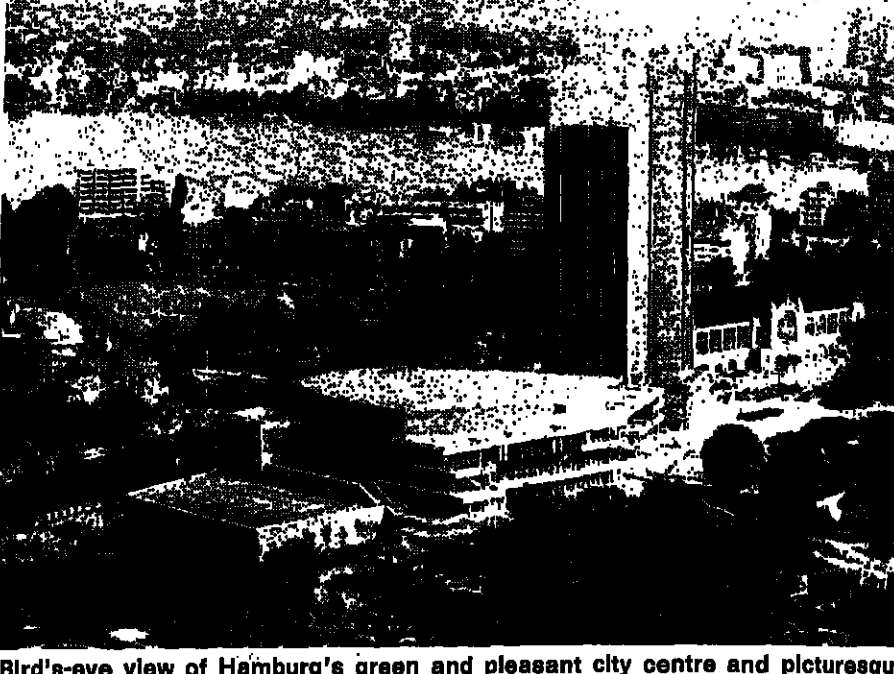
The Hamburg constitution states that public borrowing must not exceed investment volume. This is equally applicable to central government and the states. Exceeding this margin is the way to the bankruptcy court.

But as the central government is not too strict on this point, who is going to point an accusing finger at Federal state level?

There can be no ruling out the possibility of a "Grand Coalition" of big debtors.

Hermann Denecke

(Deutsches Allgemeines Sonntagsblatt, Hamburg, 17 January 1988)



Bird's-eye view of Hamburg's green and pleasant city centre and picturesque Alster lake. (Photo: HMC)

Last-ditch bid to avert closure

Continued from page 7

stand firm. They refuse to go anywhere near the negotiating table to discuss the management's redundancy proposals.

They are determined to stand firm even though many must have their doubts whether the protest will be effective in the long term.

The Duisburg steelworkers are well aware that little if any action has followed the fine words of solidarity expressed by politicians who have paid Rheinhausen brief visits to proclaim their support — as the cameras click and whir.

"In the final analysis," one campaigner puts it, "they all say there can be guarantee that Rheinhausen will continue to make steel."

North Rhine-Westphalian Economic Affairs Minister Reimut Jochimsen, a Social Democrat, has even said that in principle he feels cooperation betweeen Krupp, Mannesmann and Thyssen makes sound sense.

Land government officials in Düsseldorf are beginning to feel the Rheinhausen works may have to be closed sooner or later. So the best bet must be to negotiate a gradual closure scheme with generous redundancy provisions and to launch a Federal and state government job creation scheme for hard-pressed coal and steel regions such as the Ruhr.

Even the fiery speeches made by trade union leaders who have converged on Rheinhausen have encountered scepticism, with steelworkers suspecting the union leaders of being out of touch with the shopfloor and maybe knowing more than they are prepared to admit in public.

This feeling is unmistakeable at the Erlöserkirche when an interview with Ernst Breit, general secretary of the DGB, Germany's Düsseldorf-based trades union confederation, is screened on the protest channel.

Asked whether the DGB is prepared to back the cable TV scheme, Herr Breit studiously avoids committing himself, vaguely commenting: "That depends." There are jeers from the audience in the church hall.

The next deadline for the Rheinhausen steelworkers seems likely to be 24 February, when talks are to be held in Bonn, with Chancellor Kohl in the chair, on an aid programme for the coal and steel regions.

Duisburg doubts whether the outcome of the conference will help Rheinhausen. What do Krupp steelworkers stand to gain from talks about an overall programme to be launched by the turn of the century when they are thrown out of work here and now?

To do them any good the Rheinhausen works would need to be kept going, arguably by means of subsidies from Bonn and Brussels, at least until an investment programme has succeeded in creating new jobs in the city.

"On the quiet," as one Rheinhausen steelworker puts it, "I am afraid talks will make no headway at all in this direction, leaving us badly let down yet again after the talks chaired by the Chancellor."

That leaves the steelworkers with no alternative to relying on their own strength and on the effect of protest moves. Since the protest began they have virtually determined what was produced at the works. Their go-slow has meant a production shortfall of 90,000 tonnes.

In response to a management plea the workers have just stepped up production and worked the furnaces flat out again to prevent lasting damage to the production line and to ensure the continued support of staff at the Krupp rolling mill in Bochum.

Bochum relies on Rheinhausen steel, and Krupp workers there have promised only to roll steel from Rheinhausen, but the tacit warning has been that Rheinhausen workers must make sure steel supplies continue to keep Bochum in business and the Bochum steelworkers in work.

The protest campaign is to continue, although Duisburg steelworkers have realised they must tone down their initial extremism and not overstep the mark of what other workers and the general public can be expected to tolerate.

They realise intuition is what they need. They can't afford to allow themselves to be classified as bother boys.

They are hoping for a new wave of solidarity throughout the Ruhr in connection with pit closure proposals.

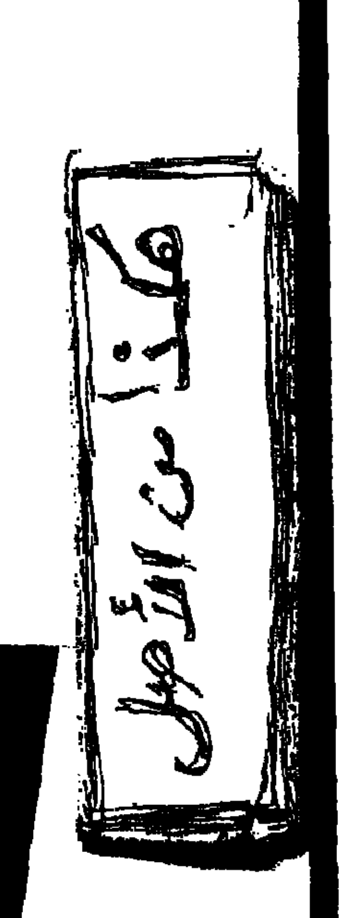
Agreement has been reached in Bonn that about 20,000 miner's jobs must go. The board of the Ruhr Coal Corporation is shortly due to announce how many men are to be made redundant at which pits, so miners could be up in arms too.

If these protests are to no avail there is still a gleam of hope, arguably the last straw, in the East.

Iran holds a 25.1-per-cent stake in Krupp Stahl AG and could veto the Rheinhausen closure by instructing its supervisory board members to reject the plan.

Hans-Ulrich Jörges

(Süddeutsche Zeitung, Munich, 14 January 1988)



■ AVIATION

Berlin's 'new air role' is doubtful

Discussion about making Berlin into an "air traffic junction" and expanding the city's air traffic began when Lufthansa celebrated its 60th anniversary in Berlin in January 1986.

Mayor Eberhard Diepgen called for the development of new air routes from Scandinavia via West Berlin to southern Europe in addition to Allied air traffic through the Berlin air corridors.

This idea was given a boost when President Reagan, during his visit to Berlin for the city's 750th anniversary celebrations, suggested that Berlin should be built up into a centre of aviation for Central Europe.

The Allies, working together with the appropriate German authorities, have been considering ideas of making Berlin into an "air traffic junction" as a result of the American President's suggestions.

Berlin's air links to the West could be increased and a step made towards overcoming the city's division. But of prime importance in all considerations of development along these lines must be the safeguarding of the Allies' basic rights in Berlin.

This refers to an agreement signed on 30 November 1945 by the Four Powers as a result of the London Protocol. This guaranteed the Allied air corridors into Berlin and the air space within a radius of 32 kilometres around the Allied air safety centre based in the former Control Council's building in the Schöneberg district of West Berlin.

The Four Allies have fundamental rights in the air corridors, which they jointly control, and in the 32-kilometre air space. These rights guaranteed the city's political survival during the Soviet Union's blockade of Berlin in 1948/1949.

Forty years after the Berlin Blockade the initiators of the "air traffic junction" idea now have to negotiate with the Soviet Union and East Germany for non-Allied, Western airlines to be able to fly into West Berlin outside the air corridors. The German national airline Lufthansa could be one of these airlines, for instance.

This would mean that East Germany would have to agree to overflying its territory and the Soviet Union would have to allow non-Allied, Western airlines to fly into the divided city through the 32-kilometre zone.

There is optimism about this in the West. A trade-in could be agreed — the development of Berlin into an "air traffic junction" in return for the promise to deliver the West's most modern civil aircraft, the Airbus.

Furthermore improved relations between the super-powers have political advantages for the idea of an "air traffic junction" in Berlin.

But politicians have not given much consideration to whether the divided city needs more air traffic. It is debatable if non-Allied, Western airlines, flying Frankfurt-Moscow or Frankfurt-Tokyo, would be very interested in making a stopover in Berlin's Tegel airport.

An airline, that had a stopover on a long-haul flight, would be at a disadvantage with its competitors who made the same stretch nonstop, if there were no significant passenger demand for such a stopover. There is not likely to be much of a demand from the small Berlin market. Allied airlines already serve demand on the north-south routes with services out of Tegel. Pan American and Berlin Regional U.K. serve destinations within Germany as well as Zürich, Innsbruck and Copenhagen.

Experts in the West see the establishment of a joint "air traffic junction" in Berlin as a "rational and coordinated division of activities" between Tegel in West Berlin and Schönefeld, the East German airport just outside the city.

But again, this does not seem to be very realistic. It is unlikely that passengers flying from Frankfurt to Moscow would want to disembark in Tegel and make an onward flight from Schönefeld.

If there has to be a stopover in Berlin then Schönefeld is far more attractive for most airlines. From Schönefeld, not from Tegel, East Bloc airlines fly eastwards and to the south at very low prices.

The Scandinavian airline, SAS, and Austrian Airlines use Schönefeld on their north-south routes.

It seems unlikely that the East German government will express any interest in the two Berlin airports working together since the East Germans are bound to make as a condition of overflying East German territory that Schönefeld airport is served, not Tegel.

Transatlantic flights by American airlines could fly nonstop to West Berlin rather than Frankfurt. This possibility is currently being considered and it does not require the approval of the Soviet Union or East Berlin. Passengers could be transferred in Tegel to aircraft flying to other destinations in the Federal Republic.

But many transatlantic passengers are not bound for Federal Republic destinations. It seems doubtful, then, that airlines would exchange the tried and tested facilities of Frankfurt airport for transit traffic to Tegel.

Stimulated by President Reagan's initiative there is evidence to believe that there are a number of airlines interested in being "newcomers" in the profitable Berlin air corridor traffic, subsidised by Bonn.

Frankfurter Allgemeine

American Airlines, Trans-World Airlines, Northwest-Orient, Delta Air Lines and PanAm Express, a Pan American subsidiary, are eagerly pressing to move into the market.

American Airlines, Trans-World Airlines, British Airways and Pan American, who have for years been involved in most of the Berlin air traffic business, plan 130 extra flights, additional to the 230 already operated out of Tegel. American Airlines alone plans to run hourly flights, 13 of them, to Frankfurt.

Although it is accepted that Allied air traffic attachés will only approve about two-thirds of new flight applications, and flight coordinators have already rejected 14 flights because German airports are overloaded, total traffic through the air corridors will increase by more than 50 per cent, and to the most important destinations such as Frankfurt, Hamburg and Munich, by 100 per cent.

A Pan American report on air traffic shows that their aircraft are currently flying loaded to 60.4 per cent of capacity. This gives some indication of how stiff the competition will be on traffic through the air corridors.

More than five million passengers

Continued on page 13

Deregulation may boost air traffic — but not safety

Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger

Deregulation of civil aviation will have changed the landscape of travel in Europe by 1992, airlines say.

They expect the number of passengers to double in a few years. Deregulation, which has been so beneficial in America, is expected to be an important reason for this boom.

Deregulation will do away with restrictive price and capacity controls. This should make bring ticket costs down and attract more passengers. Airlines will be able to introduce far-reaching changes in tariffs, flight plans, air safety, ground organisation and reservation systems.

Lufthansa sales director Frank Beckmann told the aviation correspondents' press club in Washington, D.C., he felt deregulation would change the face of European travel by 1992.

The number of private, as opposed to business, passengers in Germany has increased by 36 per cent since 1982. Business passengers are up by only 19 per cent.

Airlines from the same country can now fly the same routes. Airlines with small aircraft of up to 70 seats which can prove their liquidity and safety record, can now easily get rights to fly regular services between large and small airports.

Airlines which up to now have been restricted to flying back and forth on the same route will now be able to make additional stops and pick up extra passengers, mail and air cargo.

The new EEC guidelines also entitle airlines to serve domestic routes in neighbouring countries.

Nothing is more seductive than founding a new company in a situation like this. But the American experience has shown that not many companies have the necessary reserves for the operating costs and the initial high investment.

Heinz Ruhnau, Lufthansa chief executive, says: "Mergers between airlines, such as the British Airways' takeover of British Caledonian, can only result in the soundest improving their position and taking over the lion's share of the market."

The first phase of deregulation will more than likely cause a price war which could oust the smaller airlines. Whichever of the smaller firms can survive this critical situation has the chance to act as a ferry service between local, regional airports and major, international ones.

A further consequence of the new order is the elimination of rigid boundaries between regular services and charter flights, Ruhnau says.

"Charter operators are trying to break into the lucrative market of regular services on busy routes. Whereas flag carriers want to get a look-in at the rapidly growing tourist market."

Open skies policies like this killed off charter flights in the United States.

Electronic information systems and travel agents' marketing arrangements are a linchpin of operators' considerations.

They are just as important as modern fleets of aircraft or automatic ticket machines. Access to electronic information and reservation systems will be decisive in dealing with up to one million different fares a day.

Europeans will also have to learn from the Americans how to direct such a mass of information along the right channels.

Highly modern American computer reservation systems such as Sabre, Apollo and System One, used by American Airlines, United Airlines and Texas Air respectively, work well.

Ruinous competition on the North Atlantic route forced the Americans to try and sell their reservation systems to the Europeans. But without much success.

As a counter-move, European airlines developed their own reservation systems in order to maintain their domestic advantages.

Once again the Europeans could not unite. They could not even agree on a single system.

Lufthansa, Air France and SAS founded the Amadeus reservation system, to which Air Inter, Finnair and JAT of Yugoslavia joined up.

Between them these six account for 60 per cent of the European passenger market.

The Amadeus group bought its software from Texas Air's System One and its hardware from IBM — to get off to a quick start.

Another consortium has bought into United Airlines' Apollo reservation system. British Airways, Swissair and KLM plan to market it as the Galileo system.

So both groups, although their systems differ slightly from the US systems on which they are based, are still largely dependent on their US systems.

Lufthansa's Frank Beckmann is assuming that deregulation and automation are inseperably tied up to one another.

In order to standardise the content of the systems of all bidders, the Civil Aeronautical Board (CAB) in the US ruled that services of non-airlines such as car-hire firms, travel agents and hotels should be offered by all airline ticket reservation systems on the market.

The smooth management of expanding air traffic is undeniably dependent on air safety control and on an efficient infrastructure on the ground.

In 1987 the increase in air traffic at peak periods led to a ban on domestic flights travelling at altitudes of over 7,300 metres, or 24,000 feet.

This blanket ban was imposed by control towers, pushing kerosene consumption up by 15 per cent, which knocked both profits and environmental protection into a cocked hat.

Increasingly long delays in landing and take-off at Munich, Düsseldorf and Frankfurt are the result. Neither the airports nor their air safety facilities can handle the overload.

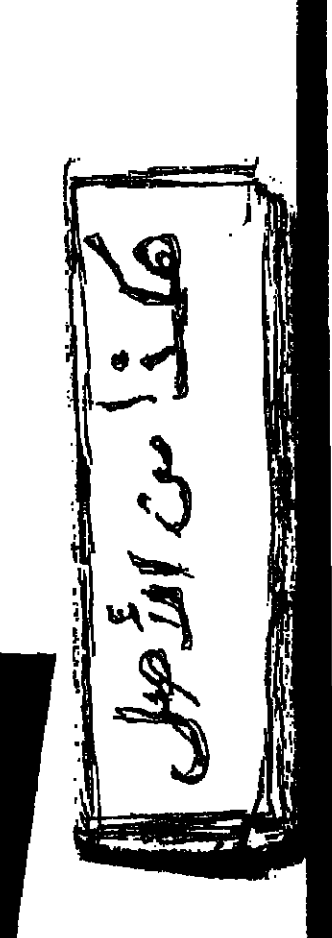
Captain Gehlen, spokesman for Cockpit, the airline pilots' association, says: "Things are likely to get worse before they get better."

General Secretary Neumeister of AEA, the Association of European Airlines, agrees.

"It would be wrong," he says, "to blame control tower staff. They are under just as heavy pressure of work as everyone else at European airports."

Klaus Wittkamp

(Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger, Cologne, 14 January 1988)



■ DRAMA

Heißhunger – a real life problem play

The story of the play *Heißhunger* (literally: Voracious Appetite), put on at the Werkstatt-Theater in Cologne, can be quickly told.

Maria cannot connect with other people, she feels under pressure from society and society's clichés (only women who are slim are beautiful). She does battle with her own body.

She suffers from anorexia. Neither her friend Philipp nor her sister Pepsi nor her mother Anne understand that she is anorectic. They each live out roles imposed upon them.

Pepsi, full of life, relaxed, sexy and without problems, plays the part of the family clown.

The mother Anne is there in the flesh but she is thinking about the offer she has had to stand in for a doctor. She wonders if she can do the job.

Maria's father only occasionally intrudes into the on-stage action by telephone. He just wants to know if bad food is the reason for refusing to eat.

All the protagonists in this play are lonely prisoners in their own world of thought. The action relentlessly moves towards catastrophe.

Maria gets thinner and thinner. It seems a matter of urgency that she should be put in hospital.

Maria's refusal to eat is the central theme of this play, which lasts for two hours but is not boring for a second. The action shows in considerable detail with a sophisticated psychological background how an anorectic messes up a family.

Anne says to her daughter: "You haven't had a period for the past six months, Maria. Your hair is falling out. You are dying, Maria, the doctor said so."

She has been diagnosed as suffering from anorexia.

Anorexia, the want of appetite, is an illness that afflicts young girls in puberty and young women. Symptoms include a refusal to eat, then a voracious appetite, expressed by wanting to bolt down food and then vomit it up.

People suffering from anorexia lose weight until they are but skeletons. Their lives are at risk. This is the case with 19-year-old Maria. She has a voracious appetite for love, she longs to be taken notice of and have security in the family.

She has suppressed these longings for years and she has done what her relations and the consumer society have demanded of her: she functions efficiently, she is effective and adjusted to the world around her. She does this until she cannot physically do it any longer.

This play's theme is how Maria is pushed into anorexia, and how she compensates for her "voracious appetite" in love.

Heißhunger is based on personal experience. Director Yvonne Racine, who plays Maria, suffered from anorexia when she was 16, but overcame it with the help of therapy.

Everywhere she went she came across the themes of food, being slim and calories. "Many women can only talk about one thing: slimming," she said.

For a long time anorexia has been an international social phenomenon. For centuries women have been subordinated to something: now it's the dictates of fashion, emphasised in advertising and the media.



Heroine Maria 'pigging it out' in *Heißhunger*, Yvonne Racine's Cologne play about anorexia. (Photo: Michael Fehlauer)

Only slim women are beautiful, are successful. Young girls and women get the feeling that only if they are slim will life begin for them.

Heißhunger was written by the entire company, four actresses and an actor. The piece was developed scene by scene. Each of the players brought her or his own ideas to it, making the play versatile, varied and realistic.

These qualities are evident, for example, when Maria sits in the white bed on stage and fishes around under the pillows for a bottle of pickled gherkins and jellybabies. She sucks away enjoying the jellybabies, writing up the number of calories in an exercise book.

After having eaten the gherkins and the jellybabies she jumps on the scales that are under the bed, of course.

On stage this action is hectic and furtive. As soon as anyone appears on stage the scales and the exercise book of her calorie count, evidence of her illness, disappear under the pillows, under the bed.

Another typical scene is when Maria refuses to eat with her mother and sister at a decoratively laid-out table. She says she is already full.

But in the night she creeps down to the fridge and devours everything inside.

After stuffing herself she is sick. She wants to be a nothing. She says: "I want to get away from here. I'll take a bike and ride to the lights, the lights will get me, then everything will be over."

Pepsi is the opposite to Maria, the anorectic. She is full of life, lively and sexy. While Maria conceals her longings, suppresses them, Pepsi lets the world know that "I don't deny myself anything, I will have, have everything, everything just for me, everything here and now."

But chubby, emotional Pepsi shocks Maria's friend Philipp just as much as introverted, anorectic Maria shocks him.

Heißhunger shows that anorexia is a family complex. Maria is a model daughter. She fulfills all expectations of her until her breakdown.

Pepsi also cannot pretend to have no problems all the time. She cannot get a bite down her in view of Maria's ravenous appetite.

Only when the mother admits her hopelessness in this hopeless situation does Pepsi again make contact with Maria. The sisters find one another again.

The audience went along with this, interested and involved. People saw their own family situations repeated. One 18-year-old believed that he could recognise his sister in Maria.

This effect came out in a dress rehearsal to which the Werkstatt-Theater had invited boys and girls from a class in a Montessori school.

Diet Scholz from the Werkstatt-Theater said: "We obviously put our heads into a hornets' nest."

The actresses and actor wanted to know from the dress rehearsal whether the problems presented on stage came through to the audience.

But the schoolboys and girls wanted to know how theatre developed, how actors worked out dramatic problems.

The production of *Heißhunger* is in line with a tradition upheld for the past 10 years by the Werkstatt-Theater, dramatising social problems regarded as discomforting and taboo.

The company has dealt with cancer, unemployed young people have discussed their problems on the stage and a group of young Turks got together, wrote a play and performed it there. It was also shown on television.

The actors do not look for ready-made answers. They are more concerned that problems are aired in public, discussed and a search made for a solution to them.

They listen to the comments their audiences make that tell them what is true and what is false.

They invite people to dress rehearsals for this reason. Justified criticisms have resulted in changes in dialogue and scenes.

For the play dealing with cancer they spoke to cancer patients, doctors and psychologists.

Unemployed young people presented their problems on stage. For *Heißhunger* the actors consulted a psychotherapy team and a self-help group.

A video of the play is the centre of a degree thesis which two girl students from the social affairs department of Cologne Polytechnic are writing.

Monika Käller-Vielhaber, media educationalist, is guiding the two students in their studies. She said: "I prefer to visualise a problem so as to make it more comprehensible."

The two students are also members of a self-help group that deals with anorectics at a women's centre in Cologne.

One anorectic who saw the play was fascinated by it: She said that it presented the problems of anorectics and those around them very realistically.

The German Anti-Addiction Centre has also dealt in detail with anorexia be-

Continued on page 14

DER TAGESSPIEGEL

The stage and how to make a career of it

Every year thousands of young people struggle to get on the stage. They long for the glamour and the glitter of the footlights, to be famous like Uschi Glas. Acting has always been a dream profession.

But there are only 180 places available in state-run drama schools. The private sector tries to fill the gap. But caution is needed here.

Konrad Kuhnt and Gerd Meißner warn in their book, *Alles Theater*, that anyone who wants to be a drama teacher can nail a "Drama School" notice over the door even though he or she has only got qualifications by performing on a raised platform in an automobile workshop.

The authors go on to point out that the "drama diploma" so many wave about is not worth as much as a second-hand car certificate of roadworthiness.

The book, published in the rororo series of Panther Books by the young Berlin authors, is a serious handbook for all who want to break into theatre and drama groups in schools.

Alles Theater, subtitled *Schauspieler werden – aber wie?* (How to become an actor), is full of helpful information but it is just a little dry.

The facts are concentrated mainly in the appendix. In this respect the book is unique, for these facts, presented on 70 pages, are outlined clearly and comprehensively.

There are 38 pages giving information about state-run and serious private drama schools in the Federal Republic, Switzerland and Austria, information such as addresses, admission requirements, costs, curricula.

It is a reference book of inestimable value for all who are seriously considering the stage as a career.

Between the warnings of the foreword and the extensive bibliography at the end there are 200 pages of reports, interviews and reports on personal experience of life behind the glitter of the footlights. In this section actors and actresses speak of their work and are surprisingly open about the "lethal competition" for good parts.

There are tips from actors, actresses and theatre managers (Martin Benrath, Bernhard Minetti, Hellmuth Matiasek, Peter Lackner and Peter Simhandl, to name a few) either written by these people themselves or written up from interviews.

There are portraits of those who have "made it," such as Ulrich Tukur or Jeanine Burch, and reports from young performers who have been through the tortures of entrance examinations.

The book includes reports from drama schools and fringe theatres, reports about going on tour, heretical comments on theatre idols and the special position of women in the theatre.

There is also some history, reports on independent theatre groups, a digression on theatrical agents and lots of droll theatre stories.

It does a lot to put right false ideas but does not detract from the fascination of the stage.

The publishers almost too modestly describe their intentions as: The book can reawaken dreams that have long been dismissed: glamour, glitter and footlights.

Klaus Farin

(Der Tagesspiegel, Berlin, 17 January 1988)

■ CINEMA

Serious note at Saarbrücken first film festival

The Max Ophüls Film Prize, sponsored by his native Saarbrücken, has been awarded this year to Swiss director Christoph Schaub for his film 'Wendel.' The prize, worth DM25,000, is given to up-and-coming young directors in the German-speaking world. 'Wendel' is the story of two men who lived together for a long time and then met again after a break of four years. A special prize went to the German crime film 'Jäger auf Engel' by Paris Kosmidis, and the award for the best documentary to 'Nabuli – ein Clan sucht seine Vergangenheit' by Ellen Umlauf. Twenty-six films were entered this year.

The focal point of this year's Saarbrücken Film Festival, the ninth, was the presentation of the Max Ophüls Prize for the best film made by a young director in the German-speaking world.

This festival, however, is not just for cinéastes and members of the industry but for the public in general.

The splendid Saarbrücken public has become more polite, hardly anyone asked difficult questions, hardly anyone left a film (but the films are no longer the kind to drive people from cinemas).

In Cannes and Berlin everything is on a larger scale. In Saarbrücken, even in the Festival's ninth year, the director is not above taking the entrance tickets and handing out late-night snacks personally.

But the films were not easy: there was nothing frivolous here.

A plaster bust of the patron of the festival, Max Ophüls, director of suggestive comedies, had disappeared from its usual position in a corner of the festival café.

This imbecility was caused by retrospectives of Walter Bockmayer and Rolf Bührmann, imported from Cologne. Otherwise gravity prevailed.

The festival was once dominated by silly films, experimental films, turgid films and politically militant films. This year the material was sensitive, objective and boring.

There were films about conditions in a women's prison (*Komplizinnen* by Margit Czenki), about the conflicts between Turkish and German moral standards (*Aufbrüche* by Eckart Lottmann), about the banality prevailing in film studios (*Blinde Leidenschaft* by Sven Severin), even about the problems of Blacks in Tanzania (*Safari* by Wilhelm Pevny).

Jan Schütte's film about a Pakistani exile who sells roses from bar to bar, *Drachenfutter*, was outstanding among the films shown. It has already been honoured in Venice.

Schütte is a powerful story-teller whose film techniques are never superficial. In the hard contrasts of his black-and-white frames he creates delicate nuances.

Paris Kosmidis, in his *Jäger der Engel*, shows a police superintendent who has homosexual tendencies. The object of his passion is a little devil of a male prostitute.

How extensive the resources were in quality and quantity (with money from film promotion funds, West German Radio and a distributor) and the producers able to sign up excellent big-name actors!

Michael König plays the police superintendent with Peter Roggisch and Anneliese Römer, and following the example of the French cinema in such glossy films there is a big-name guest star, in this case Peter Kern.

For films with such far-reaching ambitions the standard colour is blue — only this and the psychological impetus it has separates the film from a crime series for TV.

Why the jury gave the 44-year-old director a young director support prize has remained a secret.

Nina Grosse was given the Bavarian Film Prize for her *Gläserner Himmel* (over Paris). This raises the question whether behind the 35 mm façade and in the charming lighting the need for action in the film was overlooked — or whether Bavaria is rewarding neat film management.

In cost terms these two films can only be compared with East German productions, which have for years had a special position in the Saarbrücken Festival.

The Defa studios in Potsdam produce 15 films a year by directors who are on the payroll. These directors are not beginners in any sense, not even when they turn up at Saarbrücken for the first time as did Michael Kann.

His film spectacular, *Stielke, Heinz, fünfzehn*, is about a young Nazi squad leader whose non-Aryan origins are one day disclosed. It has astonished and excited East German audiences with its involvement and objective representation.

Peter Kahane's superficial, harmless comedy about puberty, *Vorspiel*, is full of nastiness that is probably better understood in East Germany than it is here. This is a kind of German compromise, covert glasnost.

The interest in two films that were based on books went in different directions. Wolfgang Koeppen's book *Das Treibhaus* is about a member of the Bundestag in the 1950s. Peter Goedel directed the film version, which was researched in such detail that the action is very realistic and true to period. Rüdiger Vogler's reworking of the Koeppen text remained very close to the original.



A scene from Götz Spielmann's *Vergesst Sneider*, screened at the Saarbrücken festival. (Photo: Max Ophüls Festival)

Wolfgang Becker's *Schmetterlinge*, based on a story by Ian McEwan, went to the other extreme, disregarded the action and concentrated on the atmosphere of the tale.

But the most exciting contributions came from Austria. Peter Ily Huemer lives in New York. He concentrated on frames of metropolitan life that have something to do, in a restrained way, with the intoxication with colour of American films. Filtered by intelligence and in a very European manner he draws a bead on the anxieties of big city crime.

The final film by the 26-year-old Götz Spielmann was very encouraging. He has graduated from Vienna's film academy.

His film, *Vergesst Sneider*, is a drama set at the end of time that confidently leaps over the routines of the familiar film world and expresses ideas metaphorically without saying anything straight out.

The paradox becomes an open space in which five people are enclosed, a kind of existential situation in which a basic human example clearly emerges.

The film brings to mind a drama by Sartre. The production lies between choreography and camera work that balance each other out, producing tension and giving the film a language all its own.

It was sad to note that the symbol of youthful casualness, the car in the road movie, has been taken over by a bath-tub that appears in almost every film.

The Max Ophüls Prize, which includes a cheque for DM25,000, was given to the young Swiss director Christoph Schaub for his *Wendel*. There were few who would have maintained that the film did not deserve the award.

The jury gave the award to a film-maker who did not let himself be gauged by the immutable laws of cinema. So the jury ended by taking a clear stand.

Ulrich Müller-Schöll

(Hannoversche Allgemeine, 28 January 1988)

Americans rule the roost this year in Berlin

The Berlin Film Festival, scheduled to take place between 12 and 23 February, was last year dominated by *glasnost* and the Soviet film.

This year, the 36th Festival, the Americans rule the roost as never before.

The list of prominent Americans who will be turning up in Berlin for the festival extends from Woody Allen, until now always faithful to Cannes, to Steven Spielberg, from Michael Douglas to William Hurt, from Prince to Chuck Berry.

Woody Allen will present his latest comedy *September*, although I understand it will not be competing for the Berlin awards, with Mia Farrow and Diane Wiest in the leading roles.

This year director Oliver Stone is not coming to Berlin. He was very harassed last year by the whistling and sharp criticism given his Vietnam saga *Platoon* that won the Golden Bear.

But he is sending his latest film to Berlin, *Wall Street*. He has been available for interviews in Hamburg.

The main roles in this melodrama about stock market sharks are played by Michael Douglas and Charlie Sheen.

Film-goers are looking forward excitedly to James Brooks' *The Media Business*, which shows clearly that the *Time for Tenderness* is now past. His latest is a thriller dealing with media manipulation. William Hurt (of *Children of a Lesser God* fame) plays the lead.

Alex Cox's film *Walker* deals with Nicaragua. It is about an America adventurer who, aided by American Big Business, gets himself elected president of Nicaragua in 1850.

The film has been described as a "black comedy." His previous works, *Sid and Nancy* and *Straight to Hell*, disasters of the worst kind, arouse fears that Cox, self-proclaimed cult director, is throwing the theme away.

Allen Francorisch's much-praised *The Houses are full of Smoke*, on the other hand, is serious. It is a vivid documentary about the centuries-old American involvement in Central American politics.

American light entertainment films will also be screened in Berlin. The latest Prince musical will be there, the Chuck Berry biography *Haill Haill Rock 'n Roll* and the comedy *Moonstruck*, in which a newly-wed wife (played by Cher) discovers immediately after she has said yes that she really loves her grumpy husband's brother.

The highlight of the Hollywood films at the Festival will be Steven (of *E.T.* fame) Spielberg's *Empire of the Sun*, based on the bestseller by J. G. Ballard, telling the story of a young English boy in a Japanese prison camp in Shanghai.

American film critics recently gave Spielberg the D. W. Griffith Award for this film and named him the best director for 1987.

His *Empire of the Sun*, however, is not without competition in Berlin. The official British contribution, *Cry for Freedom*, directed by Sir Richard Attenborough, is a hot favourite for the Golden Bear.

It is an impressive condemnation of the South African apartheid regime. Attenborough, whose film *Gandhi* was an international super-success, tells in this film the story of the White journalist Donald Woods and his friend Steve Biko, a popular Black leader who was tortured to death by the South African police in 1975.

Cry for Freedom should be the most important political film at this year's festival. The British *Skymagazine* said of it: "If a film can change the world then this one can."

Federal Republic directors have only small offerings. *Made in Germany* is the title of a film from the Westallgäuer Filmproduktion, which made *Daheim sterben die Leute*. The production team is hoping that the film will surprise everyone.

This film deals with the cinema and politics in Germany in the post-war period.

Director Rudolf Thomé (*Tarot*) will present his *Mikroskop* in Berlin, and the perennial enfant terrible Rosa von Praunheim, after his Aids film, has now completed *Anita*, the portrait of a dancer.

Reinhard Hauff, who won a Bear for his *Stammheim*, will open the festival with his *Linie 1*, a film version of a popular youth play of the same name from the Berlin Grips-Theater.

Then, not to be forgotten, there is the "Forum des Jungen Films." This year the accent will be on Asian films.

India alone has sent ten feature-length and documentary films to this section of the festival.

Dieter Osswald

(Allgemeine Zeitung, Mainz, 20 January 1988)

■ OUR WORLD

German biologist discovers unknown primate in Madagascar jungle

Süddeutsche Zeitung

Lone German biologist Bernhard Meier has discovered a new and previously unknown primate in the tropical rain forests of Madagascar. He beat a 12-strong US expedition to do so.

His original quarry was a bamboo-eating ape, *Hapalemur simus*. For months he never suspected his find was sensational.

It was five months before he realised that the monkey he had stalked and observed in the jungle might be a previously unknown primate, a highly-developed biped not unrelated to *Homo sapiens* and not just a minor ape.

The lemur he set out to find had not been sighted since the early years of this century. Primatologists doubted whether it still existed. If it did, then in the remote south-east of Madagascar.

Only two varieties of *Hapalemur* are described in specialist literature. *Hapalemur griseus* is the Grey Bamboo Lemur, *Hapalemur simus* the Great Bamboo Lemur.

Both are only known to exist on Madagascar, an island off the coast of East Africa renowned for its unusual fauna.

Lemurs were widespread in Europe and America 35 million years ago, but they were progressively forced into remoter areas by more highly-developed mammals such as the humanoid apes.

They are now only found on Madagascar, an island popular with zoologists for many unusual species that have survived there.

Bernhard Meier was aware of this as well as anyone when, in June 1986, he set out on his lone expedition to track down *Hapalemur simus*.

So was a 12-strong US expedition headed by Patricia Wright of Duke University, North Carolina.

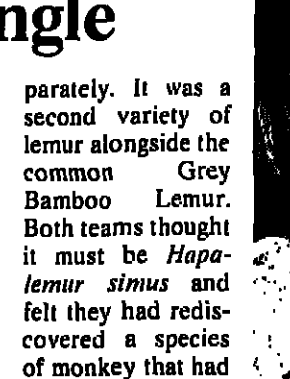
In Ranomafana, eastern Madagascar, where they both set out on their quest, Ms Wright merely asked: "Who is Bernhard Meier?" and left him and his 200kg of equipment to their own devices, claiming her vehicle was full.

Meier, from Lennestadt, Westphalia, is a biology graduate, a teacher and a postgraduate student at Bochum University, where he is studying for his PhD under the supervision of primatologist Holger Preuschoft.

Yves Rumpler of Strasbourg University, who financed his one-man expedition, hoped in vain that he would be able to join forces with the US expedition.

But the Wright expedition drove off into the forest, leaving Meier and a team of four locals to tour the area on foot.

Both groups soon found what they thought was their quarry, and did so separately. It was a second variety of lemur alongside the common Grey Bamboo Lemur. Both teams thought it must be *Hapalemur simus* and felt they had rediscovered a species of monkey that had been feared extinct. The American expedition returned to the United States two months later, and on 16 October 1986 *Nature* magazine carried an article headed: "Extinct lemurs found in Madagascar." But this report was soon to be disproved. What both teams had imagined to be the Great Bamboo Lemur was in reality a previously unknown bamboo-eating primate Meier named *Hapalemur aureus*, or Golden Bamboo Lemur, on account of the characteristic colour of its fur.





Bernhard Meier and *Hapalemur aureus:* the missing link? (Photo: dpa)

The discovery came as a complete surprise. The last related species was discovered in Madagascar in 1875. The Grey Bamboo Lemur was first reported in 1795 and *Hapalemur simus*, still to be presumed extinct, in 1870.

French zoologist André Peyrieras, a friend of Rumpler's who "walks barefoot through the forest and smells animals rather than sees them," as Meier admiringly claims, was first to discover traces of what was supposed to be the long-lost *Hapalemur simus*.

He teaches zoology at Tananarive University, Madagascar. Together with fellow-zoologists R. Albignac and J. J. Petter, who is a well-known primatologist, Peyrieras came across a group of Great Bamboo Lemurs on a coffee estate in Kianjavato in 1972.

The sighting was not reported in specialist journals, so when Corinne Dague, a student of Petter's, reported sighting two varieties of bamboo lemur 50km west of Kianjavato in the Ranomafana rain forest, Peyrieras was convinced the second variety could only be the long-lost *Hapalemur simus*.

Yellow face, black snout

Understandably, both Meier and the US expedition were also convinced they had rediscovered the Great Bamboo Lemur, feared extinct.

But *Hapalemur simus* is grey-brown in colour, whereas the animal sighted in the Ranomafana forest was strikingly different in hue.

It had a brilliant golden-yellow face with a black snout and nose. Its throat, flanks and belly are also golden-yellow, its head and back orange-red and grey.

"I was surprised by these colours," Meier now says, "but black-and-white photos were all that existed of the Great Bamboo Lemur. So I fast grew accustomed to the golden colour and imagined *Hapalemur simus* must be that colour too."

When he finally reached the Kianjavato coffee estate at the beginning of December 1986 he was utterly amazed. "What I saw," he said, "was an animal I had never seen before. I had neither seen the colouring nor heard the sounds it made."

Yet it was unquestionably a bamboo lemur. Meier realised it could only be a *Hapalemur*, so there must be three varieties, not two.

Fellow-specialists initially ruled out any such idea. Only Professor Preuschoft said: "Herr Meier, it can't *be true* but you are right."

In April 1987 Bernhard Meier set out on a second expedition to the mountainous jungle near Ranomafana, this time accompanied by André Peyrieras and his sponsor, Yves Rumpler.

A week later Rumpler was airborne and bound for Strasbourg, carefully watching over a container of nutrient and a tiny scrap of skin taken from the mysterious third variety of bamboo lemur.

After breeding cells from the sample he used a newly-devised chromosome analysis technique of his own to prove that the golden-faced bamboo lemur Meier and the US expedition had sighted was a new and previously unknown primate.

Including its tail it is about 80cm long. It weighs about 1.2kg and has 62 chromosomes. The Great Bamboo Lemur has 60 and the sub-species of Grey Bamboo Lemur have between 54 and 58.

Further proof was provided by a comparison of glandular distribution on the skin. The three bamboo lemur varieties clearly differ in location, size and shape of the glands to the fore of their upper arms and on the inside of their lower arms.

A third proof was provided by the field biologists, for whom two different species always exist when they coexist in one biotope. All three varieties of bamboo lemur are now known to coexist in the Ranomafana jungle.

Pat Wright welcomed Bernhard Meier to the United States in November 1987. They have now joined forces with the French and the World Wildlife Fund in a bid to set up a national park on Madagascar.

Meier's estimate is that only about 150 Golden Bamboo Lemurs survive on the island.

Renate Schirow

(Süddeutsche Zeitung, Munich, 21 January 1988)

■ HEALTH

You can't keep old age at bay but ill-health isn't inevitable



The debilitating diseases of old age can be treated better now thanks to modern physiotherapy and nutrition, a medical conference has been told. This is good news for a society which is growing older all the time.

We live today twice as long as people in the last century. But the greying of society has coincided with a cult of youth which has stigmatised old age. Everyone wants to grow up but nobody wants to be old. There are many remedies for age on the market exploiting the public's craving for eternal youth.

The doctors and scientists met at a one-day interdisciplinary forum of the German Federal Chamber of Medicine in Cologne. They discussed new diagnostic and therapeutic medical developments for the elderly.

The forum heard that society is still clinging to the naive superstition that medicine will one day have a cure for old age and maybe even death.

Professor Herbert Schriefers, a biologist from Essen, said growing old and dying were "biologically inevitable." Mankind's life expectancy will not increase significantly in the future. Thus the implication is that people should face up to this and find out best how to cope with it.

Mankind, like other species, has a biologically determined life span. The upper limit for humans is 110 years. A mouse manages about three and a half years. Some animals outlive man. The Galapagos tortoise for instance, dies at about 175 years.

A species' life span would appear to be programmed in the genes. A genetic factor is also the most likely determinant for the tendency towards short-livedness and longevity in families or the striking tendency for identical twins not to outlive each other.

The cells of the body, with the exception of cancer cells, also have a genetically determined life span. Schriefers does not think much of the yearning of some people for immortality. And he compares the cancer cells to their reluctance to die. He told the audience in Cologne: "Immortality is malignant, the work of the devil as theologians would put it."

Schriefers said old age and death were the result of meaningful planning by the genes. A thorough mixing of genotypes in every new generation guarantees a great number of variations within the species. Nature creates life out of this reservoir of variations, which can adapt to the selection pressures of an ever-changing environment. Schriefers quoted a fragment by Johann Wolfgang von Goethe on nature: "Death is nature's masterly way of having lots of life."

From the perspective of science, ageing begins at the prenatal stage and accompanies us to the grave. It is not a characteristic confined just to the elderly.

Doctors at the conference criticised the view that old people were human wrecks. They said that old age was by no means outright deterioration. Elderly people have shown that, if they lead active lives, they are capable of developing abilities.

Great intellectual works produced in the prime of life by writers, such as Theodor Fontane, show that intellectual performance can be enhanced, even at an advanced age.

According to the findings of educational research, this does not apply to the so-called fluid intelligence — the ability to process information from moment to moment — rather the crystallised intelligence, which is based on education and experience of life.

It's often the case that old people have an accurate long-term memory whereas their short-term one leaves much to be desired.

We find a parallel to this in the body's defence system. According to Professor Hanns-Wolf Baenkler from Erlangen, the immunity system of the elderly is strikingly stable because it has retained its "memory" of earlier sensitisation to diseases.

These findings have practical consequences for health care. It means that old people are only guarded against illness if they have produced antibodies in their youth. In this day and age antibodies are created by innoculation.

According to Baenkler, the transferral of immunity cells from young animals to older ones has a certain effect and even with people, protection against infections through stimulants, seems to be attainable.

But this does mean that it would be of much benefit to the aged. Baenkler said, "that the immunity systems of the old do not weaken much. Therefore stimulants are of precious little value regardless whether thymus or phytotherapeutic treatment is prescribed."

The blame for a disposition towards infection in old age can be attributed to the diminished reserves of certain organs such as the lungs. Training of the organ could increase immunity.

The immunologist said: "Under the old monarchy people used to shout hurrah. Today we should be blowing soap bubbles." The rest of the joke was drowned out by the laughter in the auditorium.

The appeal to be active and to guide their own behaviour, cropped up in every lecture at the forum. Chronic bronchitis, lung cancer and pulmonary emphysema are respiratory diseases which are endemic among old people. Professor Helgo Magnussen, a Hamburg lung specialist, says the main cause is smoking. Which means that all one needs in will power to avoid these disease.

Circulatory diseases like smoker's leg can be alleviated also by giving up smoking and also by taking up exercise.

Professor Rudolf Schütz, a vascular specialist from Lübeck, said that despite advances in surgery, which can now prevent amputations of limbs, only one person in five is operated on. The rest benefit more from muscle training through running than from any form of surgery or medicine.

Schütz rejects medicines which dilate blood vessels. They do not increase circulation as well as exercise does, and they risk reducing the supply of blood to the affected areas.

Self-help is also thought highly of in the treatment of high blood pressure. Professor Karl Dietrich Bock from Essen recommends sick people to eat less salt and to lose weight. Only if this treatment is ineffective should medicine be given. "The older a patient is, the more the undesirable effects of medicines have to weighed up against the uncertain value of the therapy," he said.

Some people react badly to inhibitory medicines. ACE inhibitors cause a permanent dry cough in every tenth patient. Many other drugs cause depression.

Since, at an advanced age, doctors could not prove that blood pressure treatment was beneficial, Bock recommended sparing the over-80s treatment with drugs. Professor Karl Friedrich Sewing, a pharmacologist from Hanover, said the elderly should be cautious of using drugs at all. The danger of side-effects increases with age.

Sometimes this connection is disconcerting. For example the connection between fractures of the thigh and sedatives and tranquillisers.

When elderly people take such medicine they can easily become groggy. Older bodies do not process many drugs the way young people do. So drugs can cause powerful and persistent reactions.

Sewing says doctors should really consider whether a drug is really necessary. There was agreement at the conference that elderly people need careful diagnosis.

Sleepiness and bewilderment do not have to be inevitable signs of old age. Professor Franz Horster from Düsseldorf said the cause could be caused by drugs just as much as having a physical source, such as a treatable hypofunction of the thyroid gland.

Professor Ulrich Kanzow from Bonn said it was often better to tell patients that it would be better if they took no medicine at all. He said many medicines were just placebos. He would appear to be saying that we perhaps expect too much from medicine and not enough from ourselves.

Rosemarie Stein

(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung für Deutschland, 23 January 1988)

Continued from page 9

passed through Berlin last year. For a short time passengers will benefit from this competition with lower fares and improved inflight service.

But Pan American and British Airways representatives have already made clear that if the competition on the main routes should get too stiff and a price war ensue they would be obliged to cut all Berlin routes that were not profitable.

The outlook would also not be so bright for small airlines such as Tempelhof Airways and Berlin Regional U.K. that serve Augsburg, Dortmund, Paderborn and other cities with turboprop aircraft from Tempelhof.

In the end the financially strong would not only be operating the main routes and they could soon again determine prices and which routes were to be operated.

Even if an agreement were reached with East Germany and the Soviet Union it would be unwise to expect any increase in Berlin air traffic. Everything then would be as it was before at Tegel Airport.

Ralf Georg Reuth

(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung für Deutschland, 19 January 1988)

■ MODERN LIVING

Battered wives' refuges are only a start — where do you put the men?

The first home for battered wives was opened in Berlin in 1976. Since then homes where women beaten up by their husbands can find refuge have been opened in many cities and local authority areas.

Current statistics show that there are about 100 self-governing homes in the Federal Republic along with a whole series of "shelters" operated by charitable organisations or women's associations.

No-one can doubt that they are necessary. They help in an emergency and offer a place for a time. But what then?

Two academics, Ulla Terlinden and Kerstin Dörhöfer, commissioned by the Bonn Youth, Family, Women and Health Ministry, have investigated just how difficult it is for a battered wife eventually to find her own accommodation and sign a tenancy agreement.

They have produced a report which has been published by the Kohlhammer-Verlag in Stuttgart, Berlin, Cologne and Mainz.

They have been able to work out a series of proposals that could change the existing miserable situation. There is a need for this. Their proposals are the result of conversations with women who live in these homes and people who work in them.

As far back as a report of 1981 on the situation of women in Berlin it was revealed that 23 per cent of battered women sought accommodation in a

DER TAGESSPIEGEL

home for a second time or more often (up to nine times).

They had to do this because there was *no alternative to returning to the family* home they had left, back to their partner from whom they again had to flee because he began maltreating them once more.

Looking for a home for a mother by herself and with children is a real problem. As soon as a landlord hears the address "battered wives' home" the problem becomes insurmountable.

One woman with three children, who was interviewed, recalls a conversation when she went after rented accommodation. She told her possible landlord: "By the way I'm in emergency accommodation in a battered wives' home." He immediately became very brusque, she said.

Women who have been in a battered wives' home have also come across reactions such as: "You are a feminist, then?" or "Do you think that's a good thing for the children?"

The authors of this report point out that landlords in the private accommodation sector look for "economic solvency and social acceptance." Landlords regard women from battered wives' homes has having neither of these two qualities.

Three-quarters of the women interviewed, either currently in a home or who have been in one, are living off social welfare benefits. How could they possibly pay key-money or make deposits of any kind?

Frequently while a woman is in a home there are rent debts for the family home for which the wife is partly liable if the husband does not pay.

An entry in *Schufa*, the national credit control organisation in the Federal Republic, then quickly puts an end to any hopes of being able to sign a new tenancy agreement.

According to the authors there is little sense in appealing to private landlords to give some consideration to the desperate plight of these women. It is very much feared that the violent husband will turn up and go on the rampage.

Because of this the two authors demand that the local authority should help. The social welfare office could at least undertake to pay key-money and put down the deposit required.

One worker from an independent home for battered wives said that if the rent were not too high some local government authorities offered a loan for the deposit on accommodation.

The amount paid out in individual cases is at the discretion of local officials concerned.

But housing associations should also help. They could make some of the accommodation they have free available to women in dire need.

This has been done in Heidelberg. A woman from the Greens who sits on the supervisory board of the municipal housing association has pushed this through. She formerly worked in a home for battered wives.

This is a good reason, the authors of the report argue, why women representatives in local government should maintain their right to a say in things.

Carola von Braun, responsible for women's affairs in the Berlin Senate, said that this was a "point of view that had to be considered." She was not certain whether it was sensible, however.

Frau von Braun asked who was to decide who was in greater need, someone who was homeless, an alcoholic or a woman from a battered wives' home. It is "a long time off" before these problem groups can be allocated accommodation along these lines, she said. In the meantime she has had discussions with housing associations. One has promised to give help in urgent cases.

Women from battered wives' homes have had difficulty so far in getting a priority housing allocation certificate (Wohnberechtigungsschein) due to too much red tape.

Proof of income or a tax declaration has to be produced. How could it be expected that women who have fled from their homes in a rush would think of that?

Then two women with children cannot use their home allocation certificates together to take a large flat for the two families. Cases in which this is allowed are very much the exception.

The list of proposals made by Terlinden and Dörhöfer is long. There is in the list the heading "return to the former home." Here it is taken for granted, of course, that the man who did the beating in the first place has left the accommodation.

At first sight this seems to be the best and most suitable solution, but in fact it swiftly presents fresh problems.

Many women, understandably, are reluctant to return to the accommodation where they were abused. They fear that they will again be threatened by their tormentor. They would prefer to go and live in another part of the town or city.

Most of them insist that officialdom gives out no information about them, particularly the residents' registration office, and that they are unlisted in the telephone book.

There are often, as well, other reasons why they do not want to return to their previous homes. According to social affairs office rules the accommodation is more often than not too big and too expensive anyway.

The chapter in the report about returning to the previous home is brief for the authors want to present "swift and pragmatic solutions."

Here they come to grief. The precondition that the man who had done the battering has left the accommodation does not always hold true.

If he has to leave the accommodation because of a court order he is usually granted a long period of grace before the order is effective, often running into months.

Many women cannot bear having to remain in a home for so long. One worker at a home explained that usually the homes were fully occupied and sometimes, at least over Christmas, women had to "move in together" sharing accommodation.

Eight beds to a room are usual. It is not conducive for a "homely atmosphere" over a long period if many women have to live together with all their children in a small space.

There has been a timid official reaction to proposals that men who act violently to their wives should be put in a "home for men" where they could be given therapy.

Such a project has been set in motion in Hamburg, supported financially by the Bonn Family Affairs Ministry. Men volunteer to go into the homes; no-one is pressured into doing so.

However, Family Affairs Minister Rita Süssmuth said with resignation in an interview with *Die Zeit* in 1986: "Men are not under pressure from suffering, so the homes have had to remain empty."

How long must women not only bear the brunt of male violence but ultimately meet the bill for it?

The time is past for lamenting this situation. Changes are needed. The proposals by Terlinden and Dörhöfer come at just the right time.

Hella Kaiser

(Der Tagesspiegel, Berlin, 24 January 1988)

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cause more and more women suffer from this condition. Estimates show that one in ten women have eating problems and that 1.6 per cent of girls in puberty are anorectic.

Christa Merfert-Diete from the Women and Addiction project also welcomed the problem being discussed openly.

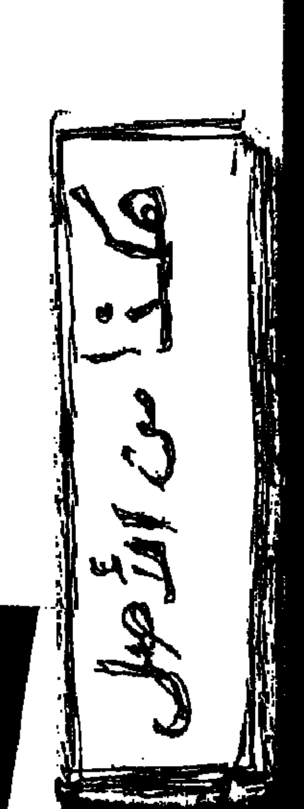
There are many false ideas about the condition, and most parents are helpless if they have an anorectic child.

Frau Merfert-Diete counselled such parents to go immediately to a doctor or seek help from an advice centre.

Self-help groups are of considerable assistance, and they are now to be found in many cities such as Berlin, Hamburg, Munich, Hanover, Kiel and Cologne.

Barbara Frandsen

(Der Tagesspiegel, Berlin, 17 January 1988)




Reinhard Weimar


The kids: Melanie and Karola


Monika Weimar

(Photos: dpa, AP)

■ CRIME

Mother found guilty of killing daughters but so many questions unanswered

After a 10-month trial in which 90 witnesses and a dozen experts were heard, 29-year-old nurse Monika Weimar was found guilty of killing her daughters Melanie and Karola and given a life sentence. The children were first reported kidnapped, then found dead. Their father, Reinhard Weimar, was first arrested on suspicion, then released. A warrant for the mother's arrest was issued in October 1986. Many expected her to be acquitted, and her counsel promptly announced that there would be an appeal.

A 29-year-old nurse has been sentenced to life imprisonment by a court in Fulda for killing her two daughters, aged seven and five.

The court found that Monika Weimar had strangled and smothered them on 7 August 1986. The bodies of Melanie and Karola were found near the family home in Philippstal, not far from Bad Hersfeld.

Frau Weimar reported to the police that her daughters were missing on 4 August. In the course of police investigations suspicion fell on the children's father, Reinhard Weimar.

The court found in favour of the case presented by the public prosecutor. The defence called for acquittal and said, after the court's sentence, that an appeal would be lodged. From the beginning the accused maintained her innocence of the killing.

Monika Weimar was found guilty. Well, that is not quite the right expression. After a fair trial she was named by the court as having killed her two little girls, the children from her marriage to Reinhard Weimar.

She must pay for her crime by serving a life sentence, even if one day the sentence should be set aside.

She was certainly guilty, but equally people close and not so close to her share in her guilt. Many have to bear responsibility for this crime.

There has been considerable public interest in it — two children had to pay with their lives for their parents' failures.

At first there was considerable disgust how anyone could kill such "sweet, innocent darlings." To this was soon added complete bewilderment that the parents — and only the parents were suspects in the case — could wash their hands of the affair and declare their innocence.

At first Reinhard Weimar was regarded as the prime suspect. He denied any part in it.

Monika Weimar also denied having committed the crime. She went even further; four weeks after the death of her children she accused her husband of the killing.

What conclusions can be drawn from that? The two little girls were killed either by the mother or father and their bodies were found in bushes but the parents did their utmost to get off scot free.

Shortly after the "disappearance" of the children on 4 August 1986 the police in Philippstal-Röhringshof, where the Weimar family lived, mounted an unusually costly search.

The parents led the police to believe that the girls had been kidnapped. When the bodies were found it was obvious that kidnapping could be ruled out.

Various scientific institutes were called in to established the truth from the smallest traces of evidence.

Months went by while the fibres on the children's bed-clothes were counted. The children's clothes and the Weimar family car were examined for fibres.

Monika Weimar's defence lawyers complained that the reverse side of the bed-clothes had not been examined and that possibly valuable evidence could have been lost through electrical charges in the plastic sacks in which court-room exhibits were transported.

Anyone watching the accused in court, particularly during the breaks, would not have believed his or her eyes. There was a woman, dressed in a white, frilly blouse, white leather boots and a pale silk skirt, who admittedly sometimes nervously smoked a cigarette, but who otherwise spoke to her mother, for instance, quite cheerfully, who laughed and joked just as if the children still lived.

She sat motionless — or unmoved? — when experts described the dead children's clothing. She was motionless when they came to conclusions which she could not answer.

When, at the beginning of the trial, Monika Weimar described her career and her marriage, many listeners got a clear idea about life in a country village close to the East German border.

The men work in shifts in the potash mine, the women stay at home with the children. For entertainment they went bowling.

The young people get out of the village to the disco in the evening, to Bad Hersfeld, for instance. They get to know briefly American soldiers stationed in the area, but they are only temporarily in Germany and are not particularly fussy who they go with.

In the disco it is not necessary to understand anyone else's language, because the music is so loud. It is a way of getting on top of worries and hibitions quickly.

How many ideas do the "boys from the *wide, wide world, the GIs,*" put in the heads of the girls from the East Hesse villages? Then afterwards the GIs are off never to be seen again. How many marriages have been broken up in this way?

Monika Weimar's sister, Brigitte, seems to be a good example. Just 21 years of age, she was married to an American and is now divorced. She already has a new friend whom she meets outside the barracks.

Brigitte introduced her sister to the disco world in which a glance, a word means nothing or everything at one and the same time.

Monika Weimar experienced a numbing sense of freedom there, passionate promises, love in the car at night when you cannot see anything clearly. The nosey neighbours and even a husband had fallen asleep long ago.

What could her husband offer her? Just the same kind of life that all the women in the region have and always have had. She had the home and the children and at the weekend he went off to do his thing with his pals. He was also the breadwinner of course.

Her American friend, who danced like a wild thing and did not have a care in the world, was for her like a bird from paradise.

She believed him blindly, but he, very wisely, did not mention that he was a married man with three children. He has now returned to America and supposedly there takes everything he can get.

How much guilt can be apportioned to Monika Weimar's sister Brigitte and to Monika's GI boyfriend for the death of the Weimar children?

How much guilt can be laid at the door of the husband who did not say a word about what his wife was doing? And then, when things got too much, he beat her up — but generally just enjoyed himself?

He obviously hurt his wife so deeply that, blind with hate, she killed his children.

Monika Weimar now knows that a way out could not be found with lies and deception. Then, when it was not too late, she probably did not think about this.

No-one warned her when she got involved in an extra-marital relationship to find and return a little love and tenderness.

Her relations lived with her, her mother, her grandmother and two sisters. Why didn't they find a solution among themselves?

The answer is that the older people could not come to terms with modern life. They pursued a way of life all their own that the young people misunderstood as being emancipated.

Why did Monika Weimar have to tell the court: "If I had had a divorce from *Reinhard my children would still be alive.*"

Her mother looked after the little girls most of the time, when her daughter took off. She cooked her son-in-law's meals. She did the utmost in her power so that things could remain as they were, even though for a long time they should not have done so.

Specialists called to give evidence during the trial described Monika Weimar as aloof, her feelings suppressed and indecisive.

The same was true of Reinhard Weimar. He is also not a person bubbling over with vitality. He has little feeling and is not very articulate.

He also drifted, waited for something to happen, believed everything was unalterable. He was angry, disagreeable and uncontrolled.

He wondered if he would be able to stay with his mother-in-law or live in an attic in the house, should he have to get out because of the American.

His wife would only need to bother about his washing and getting his meals *from then on.*

In this milieu the men are either on shift work or out drinking a beer and playing bowls. The elder women are in the kitchen reading the mail-order catalogue. The young people are off in the discos. No-one got things straight evidently. No-one had the courage to put matters right.

She wanted to be a respectable woman, as the public prosecutor pointed out, a good, loving mother, a beloved and loving wife and a perfect housewife.

Everyone around Monika Weimar should have done something so that this could have come about. But instead these two people took the wrong way without realising the dangers.

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